

**THE ROLE OF REGIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS AND POLITICAL
INSTITUTIONS IN THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY
CILICIAN LONG-DISTANCE TRADE**

by

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Abstract

My thesis complements our current understanding of Western merchants' trading activities in the Cilician region during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well as the history of medieval Mediterranean trade. The two major primary sources used are the medieval portolan charts produced around the Western Mediterranean and the Armenian concessions issued to Genoa and Venice. With portolan charts I demonstrated the wider geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in the region than what is depicted in the medieval textual sources and currently available archaeological data. Ayacium, though an important city in the Armenian kingdom, was not the only place where the Western merchants engaged in trading. With the Armenian concessional texts, I showed the changing approaches adopted by the Armenian kings to protecting and regulating rights of Western merchants. In particular, I demonstrated the need to include available textual sources recording the process of diplomatic negotiations before interpreting the significance of concessions obtained by Western merchants. Instead of being a synthesis on the medieval Cilician economy, my findings identify a need for targeted archaeological data collection in the region of Rough Cilicia and provide a basis for evaluating similar concessions obtained by Western merchants from medieval rulers around the Mediterranean.

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“One day I read a book and my whole life changed.” So begins *A New Life* by Orhan Pamuk. This book I read was Turkey when I was an exchange student at the Bilkent University (Turkey) and the people I came across along the way. Dr. Eugenia Kermeli-Ünal, Dr. Paul Latimer and Dr. Oktay Özel led me into the world of medieval Europe and Anatolia. My learning experience with them and travelling experience in Turkey convinced me to pursue an MA in Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham. From there, I started my doctoral research on Western merchants in medieval Anatolia.

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A Note on Personal Names and Place-names

For the transliteration of Armenian personal names, I have followed the convention of the journal *Revue des Études Arméniennes*. For place-names, I have chosen to use the spellings found in medieval Latin texts during this period. This does not reflect the diverse linguistic origins of many place-names surveyed in Chapter Two,¹ but provides a consistency for my discussion of multiple place-names throughout this thesis. Because I will focus on the toponymic developments of the region of Cilicia, it is also not practical to provide a diachronic list of past names for all the places discussed in my thesis. Other method of transcribing a place-name, that according to the political affiliation of the controlling barons,² is more suited to helping readers to discern the change of political control over a place in a chronicle.

This choice of place-names from medieval Latin texts is also deliberate. I intend this to be a break from using place-names in classical texts when discussing places during the medieval period. The latter practice is conducive to automatic equation of places of the same name with the same location. Such anachronism could also be seen in a different direction: R. W. Edwards notes this tendency to associate a medieval place-name with a modern location, not on textual or inscriptional evidence,³ but on toponymic grounds.⁴ Below I have provided a list of frequently cited place-names and their modern equivalents in Chapters One and Two. In my text,

¹ Varying spellings for each Cilician place-names in the portolan charts can also reflect the diverse linguistic backgrounds of sailors or the ignorance of the copyists. T. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names (an extended essay)," accessed 30 April 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ToponymyInnovations.html>, 'Areas of Greatest Confusion or Lack of Consistency'.

² G. Dédéyan, trans., *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste P. Gauthner, 1980), 39.

³ R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 279.

⁴ R. W. Edwards, "Settlements and Toponymy in Armenian Cilicia," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 24 (1993): 206.

I also provided names of equivalent modern locations and the Turkish provinces to which they belong in brackets. For 2.7, because I discuss the impact of topography on the accessibility of selected locations from an Armenian textual source, I have supplied a list of place-names transliterated from Armenian with their equivalent modern locations in Table 2-6.

In my thesis	Modern equivalent	In medieval portolan charts ⁵	In other medieval sources
Adana	Adana in the Adana province	Adena	
Alexandretta	İskenderun in the Hatay province	Alaxandreta, Alesandreta, Alessandretta, Alexadreta, Alisandreta, Alixandreta, Allesandreta, Allexandret, Alexandreta	
gulf of Alexandretta	İskenderun Körfezi		
Antiozeta	near Güney Köy in the Antalya province	Antioceta, Antioçeta, Antiocheta, Antioseta	Andawšc in Armenian
Ayacium	Yumurtalık in the Adana province	Laiacium, Laiaza, Laiazo, La Iaço, La Iazzo, Layaso, Layax, Layaza, Layazo, Layco, Llaiaço	Ayas, Ayazzo
Cydnus river	Berdan Çayı		
Curcus	Kızkalesi in the Mersin province	Corco, Cucho, Curch, Curco, Curcum, Curicho, Curzo; Byzantine	Κούρικος in Greek sources
Lamas river	Limonlu Çayı		
Licia	Latakia in Syria	Laleccia, Laliccia, Lalicia, Lalitxa, Laliza, Lallitxa, Lecia, Licha, Liza, Llaliça	
Malmistra	Yakapınar in the Adana province	Mallmixt, Mal misto, Malmistro	Misis
Palopoli	Aydıncık in the Mersin province	Pallopoli, Pallopolli, Palopolli, Paropoli,	Celenderis
Pyramus river	Ceyhan Nehri		
Sarus river	Seyhan Nehri		
Seleph	Silifke in the Mersin province	Saleffium, Salleffo	Σελεύκεια in Greek sources
Seleph river	Göksu Çayı		
Soloi	Mezitli in the Mersin province		Σόλοι in Greek sources
Sollino	Samandağ in the Hatay province	Soldino, Soldinum, Solim, Solin, Sollim, Sollin	
Tarsus	Tarsus in the Mersin province	Tarso, Tarsso, Tarzo, Tasum, Terso, Tersso, Torso	Tharsis, Tharsus

⁵ These are my transcriptions from the portolan charts surveyed in Chapter Two. Detailed images of these portolan charts can be seen below: from Figure 2-3 to Figure 2-18

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1 Defining medieval Armenian historical geography and economy: a critique

This doctoral thesis will address two related questions: the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Cilicia and the interactions among different legal mechanisms observable in such activities. In other words, my focus is on the long-distance trading activities involving the region of Cilicia as facilitated by the Western merchants. The local economic activities interacting with such long-distance trade, as will be shown in this chapter below, are not as well-documented archaeologically and in textual sources. While relevant archaeological evidence for the region's local economic activities is still emerging, my thesis will highlight one of the catalysts for the development of the Cilician economy: the presence and activities of the Western merchants. For the purpose of my thesis, medieval Armenian Cilicia refers to the Armenian kingdom that existed between 1198 and 1375. This thesis consists of four chapters. In Chapter One, I will review our current understanding of the medieval Cilician economy and identify viable approaches to selected primary sources. In Chapter Two, I will examine the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast. In Chapter Three, I will compare the Armenian concessions issued to Genoa and Venice regarding the two cities' merchants in the kingdom. In Chapter Four, I will evaluate the significance of my findings in Chapters Two and Three for our understanding of medieval trade across the Eastern Mediterranean and the wider Mediterranean. In particular, I will highlight inadequacies of the work by R. S. Lopez, whose overview of the medieval Mediterranean trade requires revisions in light of my findings. For both Chapters Two and Three, I will first systematically examine the selected primary sources, review relevant theoretical approaches and then refine my

findings. In the Appendix, I provide provisional translations of all the Armenian concessional texts issued to Genoa and Venice, discussed in Chapter Three.¹

I focus on the Western trading activities in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia because of their qualitative significance, not amount of trading involved. The major trading centres in the Eastern Mediterranean region between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries remained Cyprus and Egypt. Before securing concessions from the Armenian king Lewon I in 1201, Genoa and Venice had long maintained their trading activities elsewhere. Venice had accumulated immense wealth from its commercial operations in Constantinople, Egypt and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century.² Genoa had secured its own merchant quarters in the principality of Antioch nearly one hundred years earlier (in 1127)³ than it did the same in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (in 1215).⁴ Imports from the Eastern Mediterranean region also facilitated the developments of both cities' domestic industries⁵ and trade with other regions.⁶ Therefore, the Armenian concessions issued in 1201 only marked the expansion of both cities' existing commercial operations elsewhere into the Armenian kingdom. In the meantime, Western merchants consolidated their presence in Alexandria through privileges issued by Ayyubid and then Mamluk sultans in the thirteenth century.⁷ While these treaties by sultans were unequal in nature because of

¹ The numbers for footnotes are continuous throughout this thesis, for referencing across chapters. Despite the continuous numbering of footnotes across chapters, complete bibliographical details are provided for a reference when it first appears in each chapter.

² Cf. footnote 363.

³ Cf. 3.2.1.

⁴ Cf. 6.3.

⁵ For the example of glass-making industry in Venice, cf. footnote 365.

⁶ For the example of Genoa expanding trading routes around the Western Mediterranean regions, cf. footnote 367.

⁷ P. Moukarzel, "Les Élités Chrétiennes Latines dans le Sultanat Mamelouk (XIIIe-XVe Siècle). Le Cas des Communautés de Marchands Italiens," in *Élités Chrétiennes et Formes du Pouvoir en Méditerranée Centrale et Orientale XIIIe-XVe Siècle*, ed. M.-A. Chevalier and I. Ortega (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017), 353.

their roots in the Islamic legal tradition,⁸ this unequal nature was modified by later sultans at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. This modification was due to the financial pressure resulting from the Mongol invasion of Syria, epidemics and famine in the sultanate.⁹ In addition, the Western merchants could also appeal to the sultans, who presided over a higher court of justice, not bound by fixed rules.¹⁰ This tension between dispensation of justice by the sultans and that by Islamic jurists was not paralleled in the Armenian kingdom. However, the Western merchants had to contend with other issues in the Armenian kingdom, such as the hindrance against their travel caused by conflicts between the kingdom and its neighbours. The intermediary position of Cilicia was both advantageous and disadvantageous to the Armenian kingdom. The kingdom controlled a territory on long-distance trade route between Tabriz and Cyprus. In the meantime, this strategic position also ensured the kingdom's entanglement in the delicate balance of power between the Mongols and the Mamluks in the thirteenth century over the Cilician region and neighbouring Syria. The appointment of first Venetian resident representative (baiulus) at Ayacium in the 1270s¹¹ merely followed other such appointments to other Eastern Mediterranean regions. Throughout the period examined in this thesis, the developing Western mercantile activities in the Armenian kingdom were dwarfed by those developing in Cyprus, both with regard to the geographical reach of trading activities in Cyprus¹² and very likely also the trade

⁸ Cf. footnote 399.

⁹ Moukarzel, "Les Élités Chrétiennes Latines dans le Sultanat Mamelouk (XIIIe-XVe Siècle)," 380.

¹⁰ Moukarzel, "Les Élités Chrétiennes Latines dans le Sultanat Mamelouk (XIIIe-XVe Siècle)," 358-359.

¹¹ Cf. 6.6.

¹² For example, there is textual evidence of trade activities carried out in Cyprus that involved commercial operations in Provence and Sicily. N. Coureas, "Provençal Trade with Cyprus in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Epeterida tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* 22 (1996): 69-92; N. Coureas, "Trade between Cyprus and Aragonese Sicily in the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 32 (2006): 79-108.

volume. After the Mamluk conquest of the Armenian kingdom, Cyprus remained under Western control until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1571. First conquered by Richard I of England in 1191 from the Byzantines, Cyprus was successively ruled by the Lusignans (1191-1489)¹³ and Venice (1489-1571), and Famagusta remained an emporium with developing trading relations between the region and the West from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth centuries.¹⁴ The significance of Western mercantile activities in the Armenian kingdom then lies not in their volume, nor was the Armenian regulation of such activities consequential beyond the kingdom. Instead, the worth of this case is derived from the qualitative significance it can offer. Examining portolan charts and handbooks will illuminate the geographical extent of Western mercantile activities; comparing the Armenian concessions issued to Genoa and Venice will highlight different approaches by even the same Armenian kings to protecting these Western merchants' rights. These two aspects of the Western mercantile presence in the kingdom are the source of qualitative significance of this Armenian case.

The presence of Western merchants in Cilicia only became pronounced in textual sources from the thirteenth century onwards, despite some earlier references.¹⁵

The Cilician region and its coastal areas were, however, strategically important,

¹³ During this period, the city of Famagusta was occupied by Genoa between 1374 and 1464.

¹⁴ S. Özkutlu, "Medieval Famagusta: Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Dynamics (13th to 15th centuries)" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2015), 32-172.

¹⁵ For example, in a chrysobull to the Venetians in 1082, the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) mentioned Malmistra, Adana and Tarsus as places where Venetian merchants could conduct their business while enjoying exemption from taxation. This chrysobull is dated 1082 by G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas. Their dating has been the focus of debate, summarised by T. F. Madden, who concludes that 1082 would be the correct dating. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig: Mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 1 (Vienna: Aus der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856), 43, 52-53; T. F. Madden, "The chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus to the Venetians: the date and the debate," *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 1 (2002): 23-41.

because they linked the land routes through central Anatolia to the maritime transportation networks around the Eastern Mediterranean. Because of this strategic importance, the region of Cilicia was a battleground between the Armenians, Byzantines and the Seljuks prior to the arrival of the First Crusaders and the Western merchants (cf. 1.1). In contrast to better documented military confrontations and skirmishes between these three powers in the Cilician region, the relative scarcity of textual sources for the first half of the thirteenth century, however, obscures the formative period of the Western merchants' activities in the region. This imbalance has also been conducive to a recurring focus on medieval Eastern Mediterranean trade from the late thirteenth century onwards. As a first step to answering my two questions, I will review the most recent works on the medieval Cilician economy by D. Jacoby¹⁶ and S. Redford.¹⁷ In particular, Jacoby demonstrates the necessity of bringing the kingdom into focus, despite the effects of some imbalance within the primary textual sources. Focusing on the kingdom itself is a welcome exception to discussions by other economic historians, who cite the Armenian kingdom only as a general example of trading activities, of the coexistence of different religious communities or of contemporary political re-alignments in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean. I argue that the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia is an ideal case study both for its intermediary role between maritime trade and inland economic activities on the one hand and its institutional accommodations of Western merchants on the other. In 1.2, I will review other relevant works focusing on Cyprus, conquered by the

¹⁶ D. Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia: Some Neglected and Overlooked Aspects," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens XIIe-XVe siècle*, ed. C. Mutaïan (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 261-291.

¹⁷ S. Redford, "Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. C. Morrisson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012), 297-309.

Crusaders towards the end of the twelfth century and playing a pivotal role in the development of trade networks of which the Armenian kingdom was only a part.

As a next step from Jacoby's work, I will propose new methodological approaches to the use of primary sources, including those yet to be vigorously exploited by economic historians for the case of Armenian Cilicia. With these approaches, I aim to analyse the medieval Cilician economy by incorporating primary sources that have been marginal to the current understanding of these two aspects of medieval Cilician economy: its geography and institutions.

1.1 Armenian Cilicia: history and geography

The region of Cilicia was not by any means inhabited only by the Armenians between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The inscriptions from Alanya and Tarsus, further below in this section, indicate the composite nature of the local population. By using the term 'Armenian Cilicia', I merely wish to discuss one particular aspect of medieval Cilicia: the existence of a kingdom based on the Armenian familial networks in medieval Anatolia. The difference between 'Armenian Cilicia' and 'Cilician Armenia' should be noted here: the latter focuses solely on the 'Armenianness' of the region of Cilicia, which is only mentioned once in this thesis.¹⁸ Because I will examine regulation of Western mercantile activities by the Armenian kings, this brief introduction to the region focus on this one particular aspect: the Armenian governance of the region. This is a different approach from that of C.

¹⁸ Cf. the discussion associated with footnote 220. That discussion is related to the attention paid by Armenian chroniclers to two different regions where there was Armenian population during the medieval times: Greater Armenia and the region of Cilicia.

Mutafian in his *La Cilicie au Carrefour des Empires*, which provides an overview of the region from the ancient times to the fall of Sis in 1375.¹⁹

The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia was established with the coronation of Lewon I (r. 1198-1219) in 1198 and ended with the Mamluk capture of its capital Sis in 1375. There are alternative dates for the start of the kingdom: the rule of prince Ēruben (r. 1080-1095)²⁰ or the appearance of local Byzantine administration controlled by an Armenian governor in 1070.²¹ Despite these alternative dates, nowhere in my thesis does ‘Lewon I’ refer to baron Lewon I (r. 1129-1140), because the period before Lewon I’s coronation in 1198 is not relevant to my thesis. The period between Lewon I’s coronation and the death of Het’um I (r. 1226-1270) is considered the Silver Age of the Armenians by M. Chahin, exemplified by a cultural revival at that time.²² The region was a site of military confrontations between the Byzantines on the one hand and Armenians, Crusaders and the Seljuks on the other, prior to Lewon I’s coronation in 1198, despite the interventions of successive Byzantine military governors (ὁ στρατηγός) during the 1160s and 1170s.²³ Campaigns were mounted by Byzantine emperors Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) and John II Komnenos (r. 1118-1143) to regain control of the region from the Armenians and the Crusaders. To guard against Bohemond I of Antioch (c. 1050/1058-1109/1111), Alexios I ordered the commander of the fleet, Eustathios, to refortify Curcus (Byzantine Κούρκος; Kızkalesi in the Mersin province) and Seleph (Byzantine Σελεύκεια; Silifke in the

¹⁹ C. Mutafian, *La Cilicie au Carrefour des Empires*. 2 vols. (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988).

²⁰ For example, A. K. Sanjian, trans., *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 9.

²¹ W. H. Rüdert-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans. The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963), 8.

²² M. Chahin, *The Kingdom of Armenia* (New York, NY: Dorset Press, 1991), 278; R. G. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian, “Armenian Cilicia,” in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2008), 5-6.

²³ John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1976), 214.

Mersin province).²⁴ In addition to military campaigns, e.g., during 1136/1137,²⁵ John II even thought of granting Manuel, his younger son, an appanage consisting of Antioch, Antalya, Cilicia and Cyprus.²⁶

Meanwhile, the coalescing of Armenian nobilities and populations in Cilicia came at the expense of firm Byzantine control in the second half of the eleventh century.²⁷ It is a kingdom wedged between several political and cultural fronts. While cultural hybridisation in the case of Greater Armenia has been demonstrated by S. La Porta,²⁸ the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia can also be considered as a political configuration influenced by its surrounding political landscapes. In the case of Greater Armenia, La Porta observes that no ethno-religious political entity monopolised political and cultural discourse.²⁹ This hybridity can also be found in instances in which Armenians adopted organisational structures rooted in Islamic traditions. R. Goshgarian points out similarities between two *futuwwa* constitutions written in Armenian by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i (1230-1293), an Armenian priest in Erzincan, with those of Muslim urban confraternities in medieval Anatolia.³⁰ For the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, no political entity in or near Cilicia dominated Cilician political and cultural discourse. Similar examples of such political and cultural autonomy

²⁴ Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1969), 363.

²⁵ John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 21-22.

²⁶ John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 26.

²⁷ S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), 108-110.

²⁸ S. La Porta, "Re-constructing Armenia: strategies of co-existence amongst Christians and Muslims in the thirteenth century," in *Negotiating Co-existence: Communities, Cultures and Convivencia in Byzantine Society*, ed. B. Crostini and S. La Porta (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2013), 261-266. By Greater Armenia, I mean the region inhabited by the Armenians in eastern and north-eastern Anatolia.

²⁹ La Porta, "Re-constructing Armenia," 251-252.

³⁰ R. Goshgarian, "Futuwwa in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and S. N. Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 227-228.

regarding Cilicia may be observed within an abundance of textual sources from different historiographical traditions. It was also during this period that written use of vernacular Armenian became more widespread.³¹

The kingdom's political relationships with neighbours changed over time, but its ruling families remained within a kinship network of ruling families around the medieval Mediterranean.³² (Cf. Figure 1-1.) Urban demographics were also diverse,³³ but within a consistently cosmopolitan ambience.³⁴ In his survey of 75 Armenian fortifications in Plain Cilicia, R. W. Edwards has concluded that the Armenian settlements were scattered and located around fortresses whose populations were modest in size.³⁵ D. Vandekerckhove further points to a symbiotic relationship between rural settlements and fortifications in Armenian Cilicia.³⁶ Regarding this observation on 'non-urban strategy', I have two reservations on methodological grounds. First, the survey focuses on the fortifications. While there are material remains of these fortifications, there is not likely to be evidence of Armenian unfortified settlements in the region on similarly extensive scale. It is then a question of the prevalence of such settlement patterns in Cilicia that should be attributed to the Armenians. Second, this observation ignores the the Armenian population in urban

³¹ R. Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (London: C. Hurst, 2006), 64.

³² Rüdert-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, Tables R1 and R2 (after page 32).

³³ R. H. Hewsen, "Armenia Maritima: The Historical Geography of Cilicia," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2008), 42. The existence of 'Greek' villages in Cilicia is attested by a colophon produced in 1335. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 75 (1335 no. 6).

³⁴ Hovannisian and Payaslian, "Armenian Cilicia," 2. G. Dédéyan, *Histoire du Peuple Arménien* (Toulouse: Privat, 2007), 336-339; cited from: G. Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks: une inscription des remparts d'Alanya en Asie Mineure de 1199," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 70 (2012): 248.

³⁵ R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 45-46. Similar points have been discussed in a partially republished chapter by the same author, which I have not consulted: R. W. Edwards, "The Role of Military Architecture in Medieval Cilicia: The Triumph of a Non-urban Strategy," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2008), 153-244.

³⁶ D. Vandekerckhove, "Rural settlements in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia," *Heritage Turkey* 2 (2012): 11.

areas such as Adana and Tarsus. Although these urban areas were not inhabited solely by the Armenians, the Armenian presence in these urban areas highlights the impractical nature of viewing this observation in rural areas as *the* Armenian settlement strategy in Cilicia. In Table 2-2 below, the Cilician coastline is shown to be densely populated with place-names in the portolan charts. These place-names were potential points of disembarkation for the Western merchants. This dense network of coastal entry-points and main urban areas on the plain points to a network of settlements, with both larger urban centres and smaller urban nuclei, from the coastline to further inland.


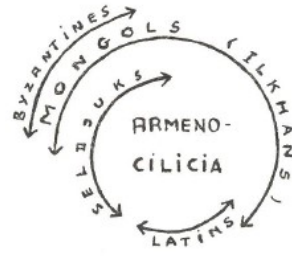

Century	XII		XIII	XIV
Period	Latino - Byzantine		Latino - Seldjuk - Mongol	Latino - Mameluke
Temporary Overlords	Byzance		Rum - Ilkhans	Sultans of Egypt
Political Constellation				
Armenian Dynasties	Western Cilicia	Eastern Cilicia	Rupenides 1200-1226	Hethumides 1300-1342 1344-1362 1364-1374
	Hethumides	Rupenides	Hethumides 1226-1300	Lusignans 1342-1344 1363-1364 1375
Titles	"Sebastos"		King of Armenia	King of all Armenians
	Lord of the Mountains		King of all Armenia	

Figure 1-1. Political constellations surrounding the kingdom⁴²

⁴² Rüdts-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, 8.

Two major ruling families, the Ġubenides and the Het'umides, initially controlled different parts of Anatolia: the Ġubenides were based at the Vahka castle (in the Adana province) and the Het'umides at the Lambron castle (Namrun Kalesi in the Mersin province).⁴³ Through intermarriage, the ruling family of the Crusader kingdom of Cyprus, the Lusignans, inherited the crown of the kingdom beginning with Kostandin II (r. 1342-1344) in the mid-fourteenth century.⁴⁴ It should be noted that the Lusignans were neither Armenian nor Cilician and the family inherited the title at a time when the kingdom's territories were gradually reduced. The title was therefore becoming more symbolic than signifying actual control of territories. Through the house of Lusignans, however, the title of the kingdom was passed onto the princes of Savoy and survived up until 1946.⁴⁵

During most of the thirteenth century, i.e., between 1198 and 1289, the kingdom was ruled successively by only three rulers: Lewon I, Zapel (r. 1219-) jointly with Het'um I (r. 1226-1270) and Lewon II (r. 1270-1289).⁴⁶ This is a contrast with the interrupted reign of Het'um II (r. 1289-1293, 1294-1296, 1299-1301). One of the sources of conflicts between these two major ruling families was disputed control of the Cilician Gates.⁴⁷ Rivalry between the two was first mitigated when Lewon I despatched the future Het'um I on a diplomatic mission to the Pope in 1210.⁴⁸ The two families were subsequently joined when Zapel (1212-1252), the daughter of Lewon I of the Ġubenides, was married to Het'um I of the Het'umides in 1226.⁴⁹

⁴³ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 4-5.

⁴⁴ Rűdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, 24.

⁴⁵ Cited from: Panossian, *The Armenians*, 65, footnote 64.

⁴⁶ Rűdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, 25.

⁴⁷ S. der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), 45.

⁴⁸ S. der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the "Royal Historian"," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959): 157-158.

⁴⁹ A. D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289-1307)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 34.

The kingdom occupied areas that are known collectively as Cilicia. The region of Cilicia consists of Rough Cilicia (τραχεῖα) and Plain Cilicia (πεδιάς), with Soloi (Σόλοι; Mezitli in the Mersin province) between them as the dividing place.⁵⁰ With the Taurus and Amanus mountains to its north and southeast, respectively, Plain Cilicia is a geographically self-contained unit. Yet, through passes and river valleys, Plain Cilicia is also an intermediary region between central Anatolia and Syria.⁵¹ Wilbrand van Oldenburg, on a diplomatic mission from Otto IV (1175-1218) between 1211 and 1212,⁵² noted that Plain Cilicia was protected by sea and rugged mountains and accessible only through a few strongly guarded entrances.⁵³ At the time of Lewon I's coronation, Portella (in the Hatay province) marked the most south-easterly coastal point of Armenian control,⁵⁴ though the more southerly fortress of Bagras was taken by Lewon I between 1188 and 1191.⁵⁵ Since Bagras and Cursat (Qalat Qusair) are the two main fortresses guarding Antioch to the north and to the south,⁵⁶ the Armenian capture of Bagras subsequently ensured Armenian involvement in political developments in the principality of Antioch. Towards Rough Cilicia, the extent of Armenian control over the coast was less clear. At the time of Lewon I's coronation,

⁵⁰ “Τῆς Κιλικίας δὲ τῆς ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου ἢ μὲν λέγεται τραχεῖα, ἢ δὲ πεδιάς• τραχεῖα μὲν, ἣς ἡ παραλία στενὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ σπανίως ἔχει τι χωρίον ἐπίπεδον, καὶ ἔτι ἣς ὑπέρκειται ὁ Ταῦρος, οἰκούμενος κακῶς, μέχρι καὶ τῶν προσβόρων πλευρῶν τῶν περὶ Ἰσαυρα καὶ τοὺς Ὀμοναδέας μέχρι τῆς Πισιδίας• καλεῖται δ’ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ Τραχειώτις καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Τραχειῶται• πεδιάς δ’ ἡ ἀπὸ Σόλων καὶ Ταρσοῦ μέχρι Ἰσσοῦ, καὶ ἔτι ὧν ὑπέρκεινται κατὰ τὸ πρόσβρον τοῦ Ταύρου πλευρὸν Καππάδοκες• αὕτη γὰρ ἡ χώρα τὸ πλεον πεδίων εὐπορεῖ καὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου, τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐντὸς εἴρηται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς λέγωμεν, ἀπὸ τῶν Τραχειωτῶν ἀρξάμενοι.” Strabo, *Geography*, vol. 6, trans. H. L. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 326 (14.5.1).

⁵¹ Naval Staff, Intelligence Department, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. IV, Part 2 (London: Naval Staff, Intelligence Dept., 1919), 11, 30.

⁵² D. Pringle, trans., *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 24.

⁵³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, 74.

⁵⁴ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 39.

⁵⁵ S. N. Yıldız, “Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier: Armenians, Latins, and Turks in conflict and alliance during the early thirteenth century,” in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. F. Curta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 95.

⁵⁵ Yıldız, “Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier,” 95.

⁵⁶ A. W. Lawrence, “The Castle of Baghras,” in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T. S. R. Boase (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), 37-38.

Armenian influence extended as far as Manovlat (Zindan Kalesi in Manavgat, Antalya province).⁵⁷

These two parts comprise different topographical features. Between the river Seleph (Göksu Çayı) in Rough Cilicia and Antiozeta (near Güney Köy in the Antalya province), the coastline is punctuated by rivers flowing rapidly into the sea,⁵⁸ consisting of several micro-ecologies.⁵⁹ The only plain of considerable size in Rough Cilicia is the alluvial plain of the Seleph river. Despite the inhospitable terrain, Rough Cilicia had been a region of economic significance since the ancient times. Its mines and timber, which was crucial for constructing warships had been a staple of export from the region before the medieval period.⁶⁰ Moreover, the small but well-sheltered ports along the coast were important for both merchants as well as the pirates. The economic importance of the region could be demonstrated by the granting of privileges by prince of Antioch Raymond of Poitiers in 1140 to the Venetians at the port of Seleph. From the river's hinterland, cotton and wheat were processed and handled in Seleph.⁶¹ Thus, access to the hinterland of the river Seleph in Rough Cilicia was economically important for the Armenian kingdom.

In contrast, the coastline between Mezitli and Karataş (in the Adana province) is the result of alluviation of three major rivers throughout Plain Cilicia: the Cydnus (Berdan Çayı), Sarus (Seyhan Nehri) and Pyramus (Ceyhan Nehri). R. J. Russell believes that the Sarus was responsible for over half of the alluvial surface in Plain

⁵⁷ Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 99.

⁵⁸ R. J. Russell, "Alluvial morphology of Anatolian rivers," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 44, no. 4 (1954): 376-378.

⁵⁹ G. Varinlioğlu, "Living in a marginal environment: rural habitat and landscape in Southeastern Isauria," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 61 (2007): 291.

⁶⁰ Mutaşian, *La Cilicie au Carrefour des Empires*. Vol. 1, 15.

⁶¹ M.-A. Chevalier, *Les Ordres Religieux-militaires en Arménie Cilicienne: Templiers, Hospitaliers, Teutoniques & Arméniens à l'Époque des Croisades* (Paris: Geuthner, 2009), 371.

Cilicia.⁶² Of these three rivers, the Sarus river had changed course over time. W. M. Ramsay contends that the Sarus has not shared a mouth with the Pyramus from the first century BC because it flowed into marshes along the coast, rather than directly into the Mediterranean like the Pyramus.⁶³ However, Russell disagrees and thinks that Sarus during the time of Strabo did join the Pyramus.⁶⁴ The Pyramus river also changed course from its earlier estuary near Karataş further away to the east, subsequently flowing into the bay in front of Ayacium (Yumurtalık in the Adana province).⁶⁵

Though Soloi was taken to be the dividing line between Rough and Plain Cilicia,⁶⁶ different boundaries are used for different topographical and climatic features: the Taurus mountains are an important demarcation between different climates in central Anatolia and Cilicia;⁶⁷ the Cydnus river marks the boundary, to the west of which there is no trace of historic channels of the Sarus river;⁶⁸ the Lamas river (Limonlu Çayı today) marks the western end of the Cilician plain and is also said to be the only permanent river in eastern Rough Cilicia.⁶⁹ To the east of Karataş in Plain Cilicia, the gulf of Alexandretta (İskenderun Körfezi in modern Turkey) is another self-contained geographical unit. The Gulf is surrounded by the Amanus mountains to the east and the Jebel Misis range to the west, with Toprakkale (in the Osmaniye province) guarding the corridor between lower spurs of these two ranges to the north of the plain.⁷⁰ The bay of Ayacium is located to the west of the gulf of

⁶² Russell, "Alluvial morphology of Anatolian rivers," 379-380.

⁶³ W. M. Ramsay, "Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass," *The Geographical Journal* 22, no. 4 (1903): 361-362.

⁶⁴ Russell, "Alluvial morphology of Anatolian rivers," 386.

⁶⁵ Naval Staff, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. IV, Part 2, 15-16.

⁶⁶ Cf. footnote 50.

⁶⁷ Ramsay, "Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass," 406.

⁶⁸ Russell, "Alluvial morphology of Anatolian rivers," 383.

⁶⁹ Naval Staff, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. IV, Part 2, 13-15.

⁷⁰ Naval Staff, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. IV, Part 2, 19.

Alexandretta, to the southeast of the Jebel Misis range, which consists of Nurdağı and Davududağ.⁷¹

The Armenian kingdom's territorial extent fluctuated over time, so it is not possible to define it with certainty.⁷² Identifying historic boundaries on modern maps does not reflect the perception of frontiers in these contexts. Such visualisations not only imply a constant and artificial boundary of the kingdom, but also imply a core-periphery relationship between political centres and the rest of the territories. This core-periphery approach is common both in medieval political histories written by modern historians and in economic historians' reliance on world-systems theory articulated by I. Wallerstein.⁷³ As will be demonstrated below, this core-periphery approach is an obstacle to better analysing Western merchants' activities along the Cilician coast.⁷⁴ For the merchants, topographical features along a journey route may be as important as political boundaries on land. As will be shown in Chapter Two, demarcating the political boundary for the kingdom is not only impracticable, but also not useful for determining the extent of Western merchants' activities.

The difficulty of drawing a political boundary of the kingdom can be illustrated by two particular inscriptions. These two inscriptions, one in Rough Cilicia and the other in Plain Cilicia, illustrate the multicultural societies in southern Turkey during this period, highlighting the impractical nature of drawing a static political boundary for the Armenian kingdom.

⁷¹ Naval Staff, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. IV, Part 2, 26-28.

⁷² E. H. King, "A journey through Armenian Cilicia," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 24, no. 2 (1937): 235-236.

⁷³ I. Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). For a discussion of I. Wallerstein's theory and its influence on the study of economic history, cf. 1.6 below.

⁷⁴ Cf. 1.6.

The first inscription was found in 2007 in modern Alanya (in modern Antalya province; Ala'yya in Arabic; Kalawnawraws in Armenian; Κορακήσιον in Greek; Coracesium in Latin), on a piece of limestone which had later been re-used on the wall of a cistern.⁷⁵ This inscription in Greek commemorates the building or restoration of the fortress at Alanya, in preparation for some unspecified imminent invasion.⁷⁶ Despite the absence of the start of each of the three extant lines, G. Kiourtzian relies on the dating 1199 contained in the inscription and concludes that it likely belonged to a local ruler, who was probably an Orthodox Armenian, based on two factors. First, it could not belong to a local Byzantine governor, as the inscription indicates the hereditary nature of the defensive building, which was not in principle the nature of Byzantine imperial grant to military governors.⁷⁷ Second, Kiourtzian identifies the local Armenian baron controlling Kalawnawraws: Kervard, from the chronicle by Smbat the Constable; Kervard appeared in the list of dignitaries present at Lewon I's coronation in 1198.⁷⁸ Regarding this local Armenian baron, Smbat's chronicle supplies supplementary information: he was ejected from the fortress by the Seljuk sultan Alā ad-Dīn Kayqubād bin Kaykāwūs in 1221.⁷⁹ This Kervard was the grandson of Adam of Bagras, who was the confidant of newly crowned Lewon I and an Orthodox Armenian.⁸⁰ Thus, in 1199, a fortress at Alanya was controlled by an

⁷⁵ Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 245.

⁷⁶ Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 246.

⁷⁷ Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 251-251.

⁷⁸ G. Dédéyan, trans., *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste P. Gauthner, 1980), 80; Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 252.

⁷⁹ Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 252, footnote 31. This ejection was not mentioned in the Venice manuscript, one of the two manuscript traditions, thus not in the French translation by G. Dédéyan. Instead, the account of this removal was found in the French translation by É. Dulaurier of the same chronicle, based on a different manuscript tradition. É. Dulaurier, ed. and trans., "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie par le Connétable Sempad," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*. Vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1869), 645.

⁸⁰ A. Sirinian, "Da Drazark a Roma: una pagina di storia ciliciana nel colofone del manoscritto Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B 77," in *Documenta Memoriae: Dall'Italia e dall'Armenia; Studi in Onore di Gabriella Uluhogian*, ed. V. Calzolari, A. Sirinian and B. L. Zekiyani (Bologna: Dipartimento di Paleografia e Medievistica, 2004), 74-75. Cited from: Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 253,

Armenian baron, vassal of the newly crowned Armenian king Lewon I but probably ruling over a Greek-speaking local population.⁸¹ According to George of Cyprus, an early seventh-century Byzantine geographer, Alanya was on the border of the region of Cilicia and that of Pamphylia.⁸² This perspective of a Byzantine geographer, albeit from an earlier period, highlights various cultural milieux prevalent at Alanya towards the very end of the twelfth century: receding Byzantine military control over the region surrounding the fortress, whose ruling Armenian baron probably shared his religious faith with the local Greek-speaking population while being a vassal to an Armenian king. The newly crowned Armenian king Lewon I in turn received crowns from both Byzantine and Holy Roman emperors. Moreover, the fortification at Alanya also belongs to a group of fortifications that do not exhibit architectural features attributable to the Armenians.⁸³

The second inscription, on a trilateral marble funerary slab and dated 1351, was found in 2009 on the site to the west of the Grand Mosque of Tarsus (Tarsus Ulu Cami).⁸⁴ The engraving of a standing knight brandishing a drawn sword on this slab is framed by a line of inscription, a style of funerary slab prevalent in the Latin East especially in Cyprus and Rhodes⁸⁵ but not in Greater Armenia.⁸⁶ This inscription in Armenian consists of eight verses, commemorating a knight named *sire Philippe* (սիր

footnote 32. On the lineage of Adam, cf. S. Grigoryan, "The Lineage of Adam (Siratan), Regent for Zapēl, Queen of Armenia," in *Élites Chrétiennes et Formes du Pouvoir en Méditerranée Centrale et Orientale (XIIIe-XVe Siècle)*, ed. M.-A. Chevalier and I. Ortega (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017), 221-250.

⁸¹ Kiourtzian, "En attendant les Seldjouks," 253.

⁸² E. Honigmann, ed., *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklos, et l'Opuscule Géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, 1939), 30.

⁸³ Cf. footnote 699.

⁸⁴ I. Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse: l'épithaphe arménienne de sire Philippe, mort en 1351," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 54 (2011): 75.

⁸⁵ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 75.

⁸⁶ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 78.

Ֆիլիպ), with a dating referring to Greater Armenia.⁸⁷ A similar Armenian inscription, though without the engraving of the deceased in the middle, dated 1316 was found earlier by V. Langlois in 1854, referring to Greater Armenia in dating and on the edge of a funerary slab.⁸⁸ While such a style of funerary slabs was prevalent in Cyprus, this slab dated 1351 from Tarsus also features a standing lance behind the knight, a motif rarely seen on those slabs from Cyprus.⁸⁹ On this slab, the knight's head is covered by a cap with a hemispherical calotte, a vestment accessory introduced in Greater Armenia during the fourteenth century.⁹⁰ While the identity and religious affiliation of this *sire Philippe* are not clear,⁹¹ I. Rapti believes him to be an Armenian knight possibly belonging to a military order.⁹² This slab and the earlier similar slab dated 1316, also from Tarsus, Rapti concludes, imply the potential existence of workshops in Cilicia for such slabs, with artistic influence from Cyprus.⁹³

These two inscriptions, one from Rough Cilicia and the other from Plain Cilicia, exemplify the multicultural and multi-linguistic local societies controlled or influenced by a network of kinship and political alliances. There is also textual evidence for political alliances consisting of protagonists from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds. In 1220, baron Vahram conspired with other Armenian and local Greek barons and revolted against the bailiff of the Armenian kingdom, Kostandin, with an army of about 5,000 people.⁹⁴ Another indication of the influence of non-

⁸⁷ For the transcription and French translation of this inscription: Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 76.

⁸⁸ V. Langlois, *Inscriptions Grecques, Romaines, Byzantines et Arméniennes de la Cilicie* (Paris: A. Leleux, 1854), 29 no. 63. For the problematic transcription by V. Langlois of this inscription: Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 81 endnote 7.

⁸⁹ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 77.

⁹⁰ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 77.

⁹¹ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 79.

⁹² Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 80.

⁹³ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 81.

⁹⁴ G. Dédéyan, trans., *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste P. Gauthner, 1980), 94-95.

Armenian barons in the politics of the kingdom is found in the guest list on the occasion of Lewon I's coronation in 1198. Among the 46 local barons, 9 were of Frankish names and 8 of Greek names.⁹⁵

A linear political boundary for the Armenian kingdom thus does not encapsulate the complex political alliances underpinning the Armenian kingdom. These political alliances were forged by Armenian and non-Armenian local barons, who in turn might govern a local population of different ethnicity or religion. While the Armenian kings granted privileges to Western merchants and the military orders, there existed complex political connections, cultural influences and trading activities across a region where the Armenian kingdom and Crusader kingdoms were located.

The drawbacks of presenting political boundaries with a controlling political centre have been outlined by S. N. Yıldız.⁹⁶ In particular, she points out the impact of historiographical traditions of historians regarding historic borderlands.⁹⁷ On the formation of the Seljuk-Cilician frontier in Rough Cilicia during the thirteenth century, Yıldız resorts to Smbat the Constable (1208-1276)⁹⁸ and Şikari⁹⁹ to challenge the interpretation produced by modern historians. With different textual sources, the multiplicity of political actors on the Seljuk-Cilician frontier is recognised.¹⁰⁰ Though Yıldız is concerned with the historic borderlands and their formation, her critique demonstrates the futility of articulating a political frontier from the perspective of a political centre in general. Thus, instead of demarcating a region around a political centre, I propose that the geographical extent of Armenian political presence is more unequivocally demonstrated by the individual locations. Suiting this rationale are the

⁹⁵ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 32.

⁹⁶ Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 91-120.

⁹⁷ Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 91-94.

⁹⁸ About Smbat the Constable, cf. footnote 204.

⁹⁹ Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 115.

¹⁰⁰ Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 94.

fortresses controlled by local barons, who were the witnesses to Lewon I's coronation in 1198 for Rough Cilicia and the Armenian fortifications for the rest of Cilicia.¹⁰¹ For my thesis, I have produced only a map of baronial control over Rough Cilician fortresses, as evidenced by the witness list.¹⁰² (Cf. Figure 1-2.) This witness list includes non-Armenian barons in Rough Cilicia, such as the Kersak, controlling Palapawl, Sik and Malva,¹⁰³ thus marking the diversity of political structures of the kingdom. These two sets of places are firmer indications of Armenian political presence than the mere existence of bishoprics of the Armenian church. The presence of an Armenian bishopric indicates only the presence of Armenians, not necessarily the presence of an Armenian ruler. Moreover, the catholicosate of the Armenian church moved to Sis only in 1293.¹⁰⁴ After the Mamluke capture of Sis in 1375, the catholicosate was transferred to Etchmiadzin in 1441 after a general synod. However, the catholicosate at Sis was reinstituted by clergy in Cilicia due to factional disagreement, while the catholicosate at Etchmiadzin was not abolished.¹⁰⁵ This was to lead to prolonged disagreements over geographical extent of jurisdiction between the two catholicos in Cilicia and at Etchmiadzin when both came under the rule of the Ottoman empire in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 53-54.

¹⁰² Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 79-80. For my method of identifying these places with their locations, cf. 2.7.3.

¹⁰³ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 80.

¹⁰⁴ A. K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Domination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 226.

¹⁰⁵ Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Domination*, 227-228.

¹⁰⁶ Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Domination*, 228-233.

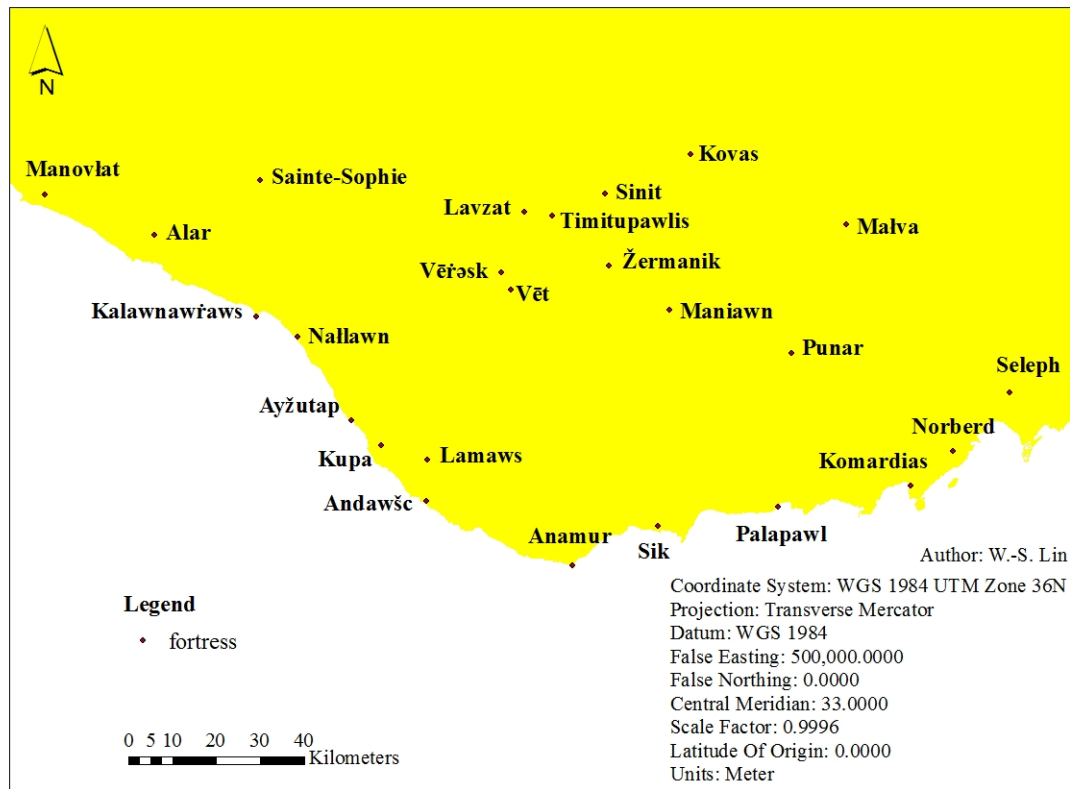


Figure 1-2. Areas under Armenian influence in Rough Cilicia¹⁰⁷

There is numismatic evidence for attempted expansion by Lewon I in 1203 and 1208 of the kingdom into Antioch,¹⁰⁸ though this was abortive by 1216.¹⁰⁹ Later the kingdom was reduced to vassalage to the Seljuks in 1226 because of the instability after Lewon I's death in 1219.¹¹⁰ This vassal status is reflected in bilingual coins issued by Het'um I between 1228 and 1245.¹¹¹ After the Seljuk defeat at the battle of Köseadağ by the Mongols in 1243, both the Seljuks and the Armenians became vassals of the Mongols.¹¹² The Mamluk expansion during the late thirteenth century occurred at the expense of the kingdom. The most significant loss probably occurred in 1298,

¹⁰⁷ For my method of identifying these locations and producing this map, cf. 2.7.3.

¹⁰⁸ P. Z. Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and its Historical Significance," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1967): 192-194, 197.

¹⁰⁹ Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I," 196.

¹¹⁰ Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 105.

¹¹¹ P. Bedoukian, "The Bilingual Coins of Hetoum I, (1226-1270) King of Cilician Armenia," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 7 (1957): 219-230.

¹¹² Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 114.

when territory south of the Pyramus river was ceded by Kostandin I to the Mamluks.¹¹³ Though the Mamluk attack on Ayacium during the same campaign was not successful,¹¹⁴ Mamluk expansion to the gulf of Alexandretta included areas across the bay from Ayacium. The Armenians regained control over the area, except one castle,¹¹⁵ when the Ilkhan Ghazan (1271-1304) invaded Syria in 1299.¹¹⁶ This is one of the many instances in which the Armenian control over the Cilician plain was reduced by the Mamluk military campaigns from the east, as well as by those of the Karamanid Türkmén from the west in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹¹⁷ The Mamluks eventually gained control of Ayacium after 1335.¹¹⁸ The entire gulf of Alexandretta came under Mamluk control in 1347.¹¹⁹

The term Cilicia is often equated with the term Lesser Armenia, e.g., by Chahin,¹²⁰ N. G. Garsoïan,¹²¹ and C. Otten.¹²² R. Galichian thinks it erroneous,¹²³ and that Cilicia should be outside Lesser Armenia.¹²⁴ There is evidence for the changing meaning of these terms, however. Cilicia was described as a province of Lesser Armenia in the commentaries by Dominicus Marius Niger, a geographer in the sixteenth century.¹²⁵ In his account of travels between 1435 and 1439, Pero Tafur

¹¹³ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 116.

¹¹⁴ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 114.

¹¹⁵ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 139, footnote 326.

¹¹⁶ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 128.

¹¹⁷ For example, a colophon produced in 1335 mentions the invasion by the Karamanid Türkmén. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 75 (1335 no. 7).

¹¹⁸ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 185.

¹¹⁹ Lawrence, "The Castle of Baghras," 46.

¹²⁰ Chahin, *The Kingdom of Armenia*, 276.

¹²¹ A. P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 463.

¹²² C. Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," in *Le Royaume Arménien de Cilicie: XIIIe-XIVe Siècle*, C. Mutaïan (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993), 119.

¹²³ R. Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia: the Cartographic Heritage* (London: Bennett & Bloom, 2014), 26.

¹²⁴ Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia*, 52.

¹²⁵ "..... Cilicia prouincia minori Armeniæ ad austrum subdita est....." Dominicus Marius Niger, *Dominici Marii Nigri Veneti Geographiæ Commentariorum Libri XI: Nunc Primum in Lucem Magno Studio Editi* (Basel: Petri, 1557), 466.

called Kastellorizo, an island not far from Rhodes, ‘an island of Armenia’.¹²⁶ Pero Tafur also referred to the area around Antioch as ‘this part of Armenia’.¹²⁷ After commenting on the security of Plain Cilicia, Wilbrand van Oldenburg pointed out that there was “another Armenia, better placed in the east”.¹²⁸ These descriptions of Armenia indicate potential development of its connotations. Since connotations of these two terms, Cilicia and Lesser Armenia, do not concern the focus of my thesis, their developing historic usages are outside the scope of this research. For the purpose of this thesis, I use ‘Armenian Cilicia’ to signify areas ruled by the Armenian kings. Even without clear political boundaries, Cilicia is clear enough a term as the indicator of a geographical space within which the Armenian institutions interacted with the Western merchants.

The remainder of the current chapter consists of three parts. In the first parts (1.2 and 1.3), I will review relevant research undertaken to date regarding the economic activities in the kingdom. My review will identify limitations of both available primary sources and the implicit rationale of the state underpinning these discussions. In addition, I will also briefly mention other works focusing on other regions especially Cyprus and Egypt of the medieval Eastern Mediterranean trade. Their inclusion in 1.2 is to alert my readers to the wider context in which my analysis should be considered. In the following parts (1.4 and 1.5), I will outline the potential of employing portolan charts and handbooks on the one hand and the Armenian

¹²⁶ “Partimos desta ysla é navegamos todo aquel dia é la noche, é amanesçimos sobre Castilroxo, que es de Armenia, ysla é muy grande fortaleza de la religion de Ródas, de allí partimos faziendo la vía de Chypre, costeando por la Turquía, donde biven los grandes señores de la Turquía, el gran Caraman, é el señor de Candelor, é el señor de Satalías, é otros grandes señores.....” Pero Tafur, *Andanças é Viajes de Pero Tafur por Diversas Partes del Mundo Avidos. (1435-1439)* (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1874), 50.

¹²⁷ “..... Partimos de Barut por la costa de la Suria fasta la Armenia, donde dicen que fué Antiocha, é de allí nos la mostraron; é yendo por la costa adelante vimos el castillo del Curco..... En esta parte de Armenia está una alta sierra que llaman Montaña Negra.....” Pero Tafur, *Andanças é Viajes*, 66.

¹²⁸ Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, 75.

concessional texts¹²⁹ obtained by Genoa and Venice on the other hand, for discussing the medieval Cilician economy. Including portolan charts and handbooks widens the geographical scope on this subject that has hitherto not been attempted. It also necessitates a break from past discussions on the medieval Cilician economy over their approach to spatiality in primary sources. The Armenian concessional texts, in contrast, have been a source oftentimes used for discussing the development of medieval Cilician economy.¹³⁰ Despite this, they have not yet been systematically analysed regarding interactions between different legal mechanisms triggered by the Western merchants' activities. These two types of primary sources are in turn the focus of my Chapters Two and Three, respectively. In the third and concluding part (1.6), I will provide a brief review of relevant discussions by economic historians of past maritime trading activities and the significance of their methodologies for my thesis.

1.2 A Cilician economy that was integrated into Eastern Mediterranean trade

Earlier works, including that by W. Heyd¹³¹ and P. Z. Bedoukian,¹³² provide chapter-length analyses of the Cilician economy in relation to the Eastern Mediterranean trade, but their arguments have been superseded by those of Jacoby and Redford.¹³³ While Heyd's analysis consists mainly of political narratives,

¹²⁹ For the definition of a 'concessional text', cf. 1.5.

¹³⁰ In addition to the work by D. Jacoby (cf. footnote 16), other examples include: D. Abulafia, "The Levant trade of the minor cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: strengths and weaknesses," in *The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of Eliyahu Ashtor (1914-1984)*, ed. B. Z. Kedar and A. L. Udovitch (Haifa: Gustav Heinemann Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Haifa, 1988), 183-202; P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (Danbury, CT: Paul Z. Bedoukian, 1979), 25-42.

¹³¹ W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*. Vol 1 (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1885), 73-92.

¹³² P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (Danbury, CT: Paul Z. Bedoukian, 1979).

¹³³ I am grateful to A. Bakhchinyan, Researcher at the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, for drawing my attention to a doctoral thesis focusing on the

Bedoukian's analysis is based on the numismatic evidence then available to him. Bedoukian's *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* is the first monograph-length analysis for such coinage. The authoritativeness of this work is derived from the extent of his survey: over 10,000 coins.¹³⁴ While it is still a useful reference tool for analysing any aspect of coins issued by the Armenian kings in Cilicia, there are four aspects of this work that should be addressed in any future similar monograph-length work on the coinage of Armenian Cilicia. First, the coins from the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia were not the first to feature Armenian characters, as there is numismatic evidence for such coins struck in Transcaucasia at least one century earlier.¹³⁵ Second, Bedoukian used 'Roupenian coinage' interchangeably with 'coinage of Cilician Armenia'. This was an understandable frame of reference because Bedoukian focused on the 'Cilician period' of the Armenian history and the Ēbenid Lewon I played an important role as the first crowned Armenian king in 1198 and being recognised by the papacy. However, this focus excludes other tokens of exchanges that might be present in the kingdom.¹³⁶ Third, a comparison between the coins from the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia and those struck by earlier Armenian kings or rulers would have illuminated the similarities or differences between these two groups of coins. Fourth, these coins were analysed in isolation from the archaeological contexts. Most probably, these coins reached the collections surveyed by Bedoukian¹³⁷ while archaeological contexts of their discoveries were not recorded. This absence of contexts deprives us of an opportunity for analysing these coins' relations with other finds at a site, if these coins

medieval Cilician economy completed in 2010 by Z. Gevorgyan, Researcher at the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia. I have not had access to this work, however. Pers. comm. with A. Bakhchinyan. 11 August 2018.

¹³⁴ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, ix.

¹³⁵ D. M. Lang, Review of *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, by P. Z. Bedoukian, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* 3 (1963): 269.

¹³⁶ Cf. 3.4.2.

¹³⁷ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 103-107.

were not stray finds. Nevertheless, these limitations do not overshadow the usefulness of Bedoukian's survey. Not only has Bedoukian provided a continuous sequence of coins struck by the Armenian kings in Cilicia, he also built up a corpus of Armenian coins with analyses of their metrology and iconography. Without archaeological contexts, however, Bedoukian's monograph is useful for my discussion of Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice in Chapter Three. In contrast, Jacoby's and Redford's works are a better start point.

Jacoby's and Redford's work represent two strands of research regarding the Cilician economy being part of the regional and the Mediterranean maritime trade. The arguments in these two strands touch on ways in which the Cilician economy developed and related to the trading activities in the Mediterranean region. The trajectories of these arguments reflect the nature of sources being used: Jacoby relies primarily on written sources; Redford on archaeological and ceramic evidence.

The first strand of research, by Jacoby, focuses on the appearance and activities of Western merchants in the region of Cilicia. For Jacoby, the Western merchants were already active in trading local products in the first half of the thirteenth century before they were engaged in the long-distance and transit trading activities.¹³⁸ The trade in luxury commodities from further east began probably only after 1257, when there is a record of Chinese silk exported from Ayacium to Genoa.¹³⁹ Two decades elapsed, however, before spices from further east were traded at Ayacium around 1280.¹⁴⁰ The perceived increase of transit trade through Ayacium and its hinterland was first facilitated by the submission of king Het'um I to Mongol

¹³⁸ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 262.

¹³⁹ R. S. Lopez, *Su e Giù per la Storia di Genova* (Genoa: Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia medievale 1975), 99-102, 104. Cited from: Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 263.

¹⁴⁰ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 266-267.

suzerainty in 1254.¹⁴¹ The Mongol invasion of Syria in 1259/1260 made the alternative routes through Syria less safe.¹⁴² In addition, the fall of Acre in 1291 and the subsequent papal embargo by Nicholas IV on trade with the Mamluks¹⁴³ caused the intensification of transit trade through the kingdom.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the importance of the Cilician economy and its link to Cyprus probably began with the conquest of Richard I of England (r. 1189-1199) in 1191.¹⁴⁵ Genoese notarial deeds signed at Ayacium later between 1274 and 1279 also demonstrate strong economic links between Ayacium on the one hand and Egypt and Syria on the other hand.¹⁴⁶ Following the Mamluks' capture of Acre in 1291, Genoese notarial deeds between 1296 and 1310 show that Cilicia was the major onward destination of traffic for the Cypriot port Famagusta.¹⁴⁷ These results reveal strong economic links within the Eastern Mediterranean, filling the lacuna identified by Jacoby as indicating lack of intra-regional perspective in discussions on medieval Eastern Mediterranean trade.¹⁴⁸

The medieval Cilician economy is thus a case of Eastern Mediterranean trade connecting regional economic activities before the long-distance transit trade became

¹⁴¹ His travel to the east is covered by Kirakos Ganjakec'i (c. 1200/1202-1271). The earlier English translation by É. Bretschneider regarding this travel to the Mongols is superseded by that of J. A. Boyle, who relies on the 1961 critical edition by K. A. Melik'-Öhanjanyani. É. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources: Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th Century*. Vol. 1 (London: Trübner & Co., 1888), 164-172; K. A. Melik'-Öhanjanyani, ed., *Patmut'yun Hayots'* (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH Gitut yunneri Akademaiyi Hratarakch ut yun, 1961); J. A. Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke," *Central Asiatic Journal* 9, no. 3 (1964): 177-188.

¹⁴² Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 263.

¹⁴³ S. K. Stantchev, "Embargo: the Origins of an Idea and the Implications of a Policy in Europe and the Mediterranean, ca. 1100-ca. 1500" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009), 183.

¹⁴⁴ D. Jacoby, "The Venetians in Byzantine and Lusignan Cyprus: Trade, Settlement, and Politics," in *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima: Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia: Politistiko Idryma Trapezēs Kyprou, 2009), 66.

¹⁴⁵ Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 119.

¹⁴⁶ Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 126.

¹⁴⁷ Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 126.

¹⁴⁸ D. Jacoby, "Society, culture and the arts in crusader Acre," in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. D. H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 104.

pronounced in the textual sources. Because of the imbalance of these same textual sources, however, the focus on the Cilician economy often tilts toward the long-distance transit trade in the second half of the thirteenth century and in the period afterwards. This temporal frame of reference is exemplified by *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* by E. Ashtor,¹⁴⁹ who begins his discussion with the fall of Acre in 1291. While major historical events provide convenient temporal frameworks for understanding medieval trade, they do not always contribute to explanation of trends observed in different primary sources. Therefore, the chronological scope for my Chapter Two will be wider than the period of the Armenian kingdom's existence, as necessitated by the nature of the portolan charts. (Cf. 1.7.)

This tendency to focus on late thirteenth-century Cilicia is thus a result of limitations of textual sources, a problem which is discussed in the next section of this chapter. It may also be a result of the lack of *intra*-regional perspective, i.e., within the Armenian kingdom. Jacoby seeks to address this imbalance by demonstrating traces of local economic activities influenced by the Eastern Mediterranean trade in the first half of the thirteenth century. His case is mainly based on different legal statuses of Venetians found in the Armenian concessional texts obtained by Venice. In 1201, Lewon I did not grant tax exemption to those Venetians living in the Levant.¹⁵⁰ In 1333, *fideles* were mentioned as assisting Venetian merchants in instructions from the Venetian senate to Petrus Bragadinus, the emissary to the Armenian kingdom.¹⁵¹ Such a different term, *fideles* rather than *cives*, shows the existence of local residents

¹⁴⁹ E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

¹⁵⁰ “.....; excepto quod Venetici habitantes semper in cismarinis partibus et qui transierint per Portellam, teneantur ibi persolvere dricturam, sicut soli[tus est] ab omnibus Christianibus transeuntibus et retransentibus persolvere.....” A. Sopracasa, ed., *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia, 1201-1333* (Rome: Viella, 2001), 27 §2. For further discussion on this distinction, cf. 3.5.

¹⁵¹ “Et si dictus rex diceret quod vellet quod nostri fideles solvant de mercibus et rebus, quas emunt per casalia, aliquod drictum, committatur dicto ambaxatori quod procuret, toto posse, quod nostri fideles a dicta soluzione totaliter sint exempti;” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 104-105 §9.

with Venetian status in the kingdom, acting as middlemen facilitating Venetian mercantile activities in the kingdom.¹⁵² In addition to these concessional texts, Jacoby further adds¹⁵³ examples from other textual sources, including the complaint by Zibaldone da Canal in the fourteenth century regarding lack of uniform weights and measures at towns in Cilicia.¹⁵⁴ Such a complaint is evidence for the Western merchants' activities at places other than Ayacium in Cilicia.

The second strand of research, by Redford, focuses on the existence of a region-wide market during this period. The main archaeological evidence for its existence, which indicates economic exchanges, is the sgraffito ware traditionally called Port Saint Symeon (PSS) Ware. This term was first used by A. Lane in 1938. For a group of pottery from the Crusading period found at Port Saint Symeon (al-Mīnā in Arabic), a river port of Antioch, Lane thought that its production occurred before the principality of Antioch was extinguished by the Mamluks in 1268.¹⁵⁵ Based on kiln-wasters found on-site, Lane also asserted that such pottery was produced in Port Saint Symeon, from where pottery of similar style was exported to other places around the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁵⁶ Because such ceramic finds have been recorded as far as Tarsus¹⁵⁷ and Curcus,¹⁵⁸ Lane's theory pointed to a region-wide market encompassing coastal Palestine, Plain Cilicia, Syria for such pottery that was produced at Port Saint Symeon before 1268.¹⁵⁹ However, Lane's theory of centralised

¹⁵² Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 283.

¹⁵³ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 283.

¹⁵⁴ J. E. Dotson, trans., *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice: The Zibaldone da Canal* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), 111.

¹⁵⁵ A. Lane, "III.—Medieval finds at Al Mina in North Syria," *Archaeologia* 87 (1938): 45-46.

¹⁵⁶ Lane, "III.—Medieval finds at Al Mina in North Syria," 45-46.

¹⁵⁷ F. E. Day, Review of *Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria*, by A. Lane, *Ars Islamica* 6, no. 2 (1939): 191.

¹⁵⁸ W. F. Volbach, "Anhang: Byzantinische Keramik aus Kilikien," in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. Vol. II *Meriamlik und Korykos: zwei christliche Ruinenstätten des rauhen Kilikiens*, E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930), 197-201.

¹⁵⁹ Lane, "III.—Medieval finds at Al Mina in North Syria," 52.

production for such sgraffito ware circulating in a region-wide market soon proved untenable. In 1939, F. E. Day observed that this class of sgraffito ware was not a homogeneous group as suggested by Lane, based on the style of kiln-wasters found at Port Saint Symeon and the ceramic finds at Tarsus and elsewhere.¹⁶⁰ The location of production and geographical distribution pattern for this class of sgraffito ware, however, are more successfully challenged later by Redford. Analysing the ceramic finds at Gritille (in the Adıyaman province), Redford first questioned the usefulness of this classification, i.e., Port Saint Symeon Ware, for indicating the location of production for such a class of sgraffito ware.¹⁶¹ Later, the ceramic finds from Kinet Höyük (in the Hatay province) provide Redford with a basis for further critiquing Lane's initial theory. Kinet Höyük is located to the north of Alexandretta (İskenderun in the Hatay province) on the narrow coastal plain between the Gulf of İskenderun and the Amanos Mountains. This site is thus within a coastal area covered by the market of Port Saint Symeon Ware as speculated by Lane. The final phase of the occupation at Kinet Höyük before the modern times was between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries, possibly by Knights Templars.¹⁶² Though the medieval settlement at Kinet Höyük was laid out as a hilltop fort,¹⁶³ there is evidence for active trading and production activities, including likely production of iron from hematite

¹⁶⁰ Day, Review of *Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria*, 192-193. The ceramic evidence F. E. Day referred to, unfortunately, has not been published: M. J. Blackman and S. Redford, "Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey, especially Port Symeon Ware," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 42 (2005): 95. S. Redford subsequently questions the basis for associating this sgraffito ware with the principality of Antioch based on the neutron activation analysis of ceramic evidence from Kinet Höyük. Blackman & Redford, "Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey," 102.

¹⁶¹ S. Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier in the Medieval Near East: Excavations at Gritille, Turkey* (Philadelphia, PA: University Museum Publications, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 109-110.

¹⁶² S. Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 38 (2001): 59.

¹⁶³ S. Redford, "A Twelfth Century Iron Workshop at Kinet, Turkey," in *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, ed. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan and A. Ricci (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2012), 385-392.

boulders and cobbles collected from its surroundings.¹⁶⁴ Unlike other traded commodities during this period, glazed ceramics are not as often mentioned by written sources regarding Eastern Mediterranean trading activities,¹⁶⁵ but they nevertheless attest to developing trading and production activities both at Kinet Höyük and elsewhere. For the medieval layers at Kinet Höyük, glazed pottery bowls attributable to Cyprus and/or the Aegean were found in higher numbers from the second half of the twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹⁶⁶ The site became more integrated in the maritime trade administered by merchants from Italian cities from the thirteenth century onwards, as ceramic finds from Lebanon, southern Italy or Sicily and Syria were found.¹⁶⁷ Notably, for ceramic finds that could be classified as Port Saint Symeon Ware, there is evidence of on-site production.¹⁶⁸ Such dating of the Port Saint Symeon Ware production at Kinet Höyük is thus after Lane's proposed end-date of 1268 for its production. Such different ceramic finds from both local and overseas production sites indicate local industry alongside maritime commercial activities at medieval Kinet Höyük.¹⁶⁹ Its production site was not only restricted to Kinet Höyük: evidence for the production of Port Saint Symeon Ware has been found at a site (al-Kanīsa in Arabic; Ἐπιφάνεια in Greek) 44 kilometres to the east of Malmistra¹⁷⁰ and at Malmistra.¹⁷¹ This dispersed production contradicts Lane's assertion that Port Saint Symeon was the only location of production for such sgraffito ware. In fact, Redford

¹⁶⁴ Redford, "A Twelfth Century Iron Workshop at Kinet, Turkey," 390-391.

¹⁶⁵ Blackman & Redford, "Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey," 91.

¹⁶⁶ Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey," 70.

¹⁶⁷ Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey," 69.

¹⁶⁸ Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey," 69.

¹⁶⁹ Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey," 72.

¹⁷⁰ S. Redford, "On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics: Systems of Representation in the Northeast Mediterranean," in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. D. H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 304 endnote 10.

¹⁷¹ F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Bd. 5, Kilikien und Isaurien*. Part 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 358.

thinks that such production also took place at locations as far as Curcus¹⁷² to the west and Sis to the north.¹⁷³ This decentralised production of the Port Saint Symeon Ware thus points to a more complex consumption and production patterns during the medieval period in a region that covered Plain Cilicia and coastal Syria. Based on the ubiquity of shared iconography on such sgraffito ware at multiple locations, Redford believes that its production was not just responding to the needs of an urban elite, but also to those of the local population from both Christian and Muslim societies, through both maritime and land transportation.¹⁷⁴

While such ceramic evidence furnishes our understanding of one aspect of economic and trading activities around the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, it also raises one crucial question: how was such sgraffito ware distributed in the region? There are three theories regarding the maritime transportation network that sustained the distribution of such sgraffito ware. The first theory is proposed by D. Pringle, who attempted to address the virtual absence of glazed pottery from written sources. Pringle thought that the glazed pottery was circulated within a separate redistribution system along the Mediterranean coast, different from those commodities circulating through long-distance trade that were better documented in written sources.¹⁷⁵ Redford finds this theory unsatisfactory,¹⁷⁶ pointing to the presence

¹⁷² Cf. footnote 158.

¹⁷³ Redford, "On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics," 285-286. There have been surface surveys in the Adana province, which might yield more ceramic evidence supporting Redford's theory once the findings are published. For a preliminary report of such surveys, cf. N. H. Sayar and P. Ercan, "Kilikya Yüzey Araştırmaları 2007," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 26, no. 1 (2008): 75-84. I am thankful to A. A. Eger, Associate Professor at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, for this information regarding these surface surveys. Pers. comm. 27 February 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Redford, "On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics," 293-294.

¹⁷⁵ D. Pringle, "Pottery as evidence for trade in the Crusader States," in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme: Atti del Colloquio "The Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem" (Jerusalem, May 24-May 28, 1984)*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa: Università di Genova, Istituto di medievistica, 1986), 467. Cited from: Blackman & Redford, "Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey," 91.

¹⁷⁶ Blackman & Redford, "Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey," 91.

of ceramic finds from the Aegean and as far as southern Italy or Sicily found at Kinet Höyük.¹⁷⁷ The second theory was proposed by Jacoby. Jacoby thought that the redistribution systems connecting major urban centres around the Mediterranean were different from those redistribution networks for less important coastal locations, which were connected through cabotage with nearby major urban centres.¹⁷⁸ Ceramic evidence from medieval Kinet Höyük has led Redford to reject this theory. If Jacoby's theory is correct, medieval Kinet Höyük founded as a hilltop fort should not have been directly connected with trade networks across the Mediterranean without the mediation of neighbouring major urban centres. The Aegean glazed ceramics found at medieval Kinet Höyük, however, are shown to be consistently made from the same clay source probably at or near the same place, despite being produced with different techniques over the course of 150 years.¹⁷⁹ This Aegean ceramic evidence found at medieval Kinet Höyük, Redford argues, indicates the possible existence of distinct redistribution networks associated with other locations controlled also by Knights Templars for such pottery.¹⁸⁰ This possibility of multiple distribution networks for commodities does not fit Jacoby's theory of cabotage through major urban centres. Instead, multiple distribution networks may have been in operation depending on the control exerted by the military order over a location or the nature of traded commodities. This theory of multiple distribution networks then raises two further related questions: what were the prevalent distribution networks for such sgraffito? Did these networks remain stable over this period?

¹⁷⁷ Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey," 69-70.

¹⁷⁸ D. Jacoby, "Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre," *Crusades* 4 (2005): 118-119. This view is further articulated in: S. Redford, "Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. C. Morrisson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012), 308.

¹⁷⁹ Redford, "Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," 308.

¹⁸⁰ Redford, "Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," 308.

For identifying such prevalent distribution networks, the portolan materials will provide additional historical information on maritime transportation. While such materials do not illustrate the distribution networks for such sgraffito, these materials provide a realm of possibilities of networks by identifying the coastal locations relevant for maritime transportation at a given time. Such a wealth of possibilities found in the portolan materials is a stark contrast with the silence of written sources regarding pottery and can provide a comparative basis for ceramic and other archaeological evidence emerging in the future. Information from such portolan materials, however, is not a replacement for archaeological evidence.

Resorting to textual sources, Jacoby brings the indigenous merchants, middlemen and craftsmen back into the picture.¹⁸¹ Relying on ceramic and other archaeological evidence, Redford highlights the potential existence of multiple distribution networks for products from Cilicia. While Jacoby's focus results in a better understanding of the medieval Cilician economy, there are two constraints on this understanding: scarcity of primary sources regarding economic activities in medieval Cilicia during the first half of the thirteenth century; the fragmentary nature of these textual evidence regarding Western merchants. This implicit focus compounds the issue of scarcity of primary sources. Below in 1.3, I will discuss the limitations of those existing primary textual sources and problematic approaches for investigating medieval economic activities. In contrast, Redford's approach raises the issue of the multiple distribution networks that connected the Cilician economy to the Mediterranean trade networks. There is one limiting factor, however. The ceramic and archaeological evidence that propelled his findings may be slow in emerging for other traded commodities at other locations, let alone the Cilician region as a whole.

¹⁸¹ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 286.

Against this lack of relevant archaeological evidence for answering my questions, I will propose the viability of the portolan materials in 1.4 as an alternative source of historical information on the integration of the Cilician economy in the Mediterranean trading networks.

In addition to addressing the questions raised by Jacoby and Redford, results of my analysis in Chapters Two and Three will also be relevant to works focusing on other aspects of the medieval Mediterranean trade. Of scholarly works on trading activities across the medieval Mediterranean, that of R. S. Lopez¹⁸² provides the most suitable temporal framework for medieval Mediterranean trade. Lopez's discussion was based on textual sources published after the comprehensive overview on medieval Mediterranean trade by W. Heyd.¹⁸³ Some other synthetic works focus on different periods of the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁴ Still others focus on themes not related to my findings: although P. Horden and N. Purcell provide a useful review of Mediterranean historiography,¹⁸⁵ their discussion focuses on interactions between environmental and social conditions at selected micro-ecologies around the Mediterranean.¹⁸⁶ Despite Horden and Purcell's critique that the economic history of the Mediterranean is dominated by a prevailing focus on redistribution, i.e., trade instead of ~~on~~ production,¹⁸⁷ my focus on the trading activities of merchants around the medieval Mediterranean was in part the result of inadequate textual sources and archaeological

¹⁸² R. S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 2. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan, E. Miller and C. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 306-401.

¹⁸³ W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*. 2 vols. (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1885-1886); J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 217.

¹⁸⁴ E.g., C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁸⁵ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 9-49. Their subsequent volume focusing on the relationships between the Mediterranean and major areas of the world is yet to be published in 2018, at the time of my writing.

¹⁸⁶ Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 5.

¹⁸⁷ Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 30.

data regarding local production in medieval Cilicia. Horden and Purcell also concentrate their attention on aspects of Mediterranean history for which the whole Mediterranean is ‘an indispensable framework’.¹⁸⁸ For my findings based on the portolan charts, such ‘an indispensable framework’ is necessary because Mediterranean coastlines are the defining features in such primary sources. As shown in 2.4 and 2.5, textual sources and archaeological data are not of the same quantity and quality for every place depicted or listed. I argue that portolan charts and handbooks afford a basis upon which an intra-Mediterranean perspective on trade between 1300 and 1500 is entirely feasible. This is a perspective that Horden and Purcell regard as lacking in fields related to the study of ~~the~~ Mediterranean history.¹⁸⁹ For my findings based on Armenian concessional texts, however, examples of Western merchants’ legal status and rights in host societies are comparable with both those around and those outside the Mediterranean region. Because the primary sources for my thesis arose from Western merchants’ activities away from their home cities, my findings are significant not only within the ‘indispensable framework’ of the whole Mediterranean, but also across other regions where the same merchants engaged in trading activities. Two other synthetic works, by G. Christ¹⁹⁰ and by S. Özkutlu,¹⁹¹ offer an in-depth perspective on the workings of the Western merchants at a specific location. Christ focuses on the official and business activities of Venetian consul Biagio Dolfín at Alexandria from 1418 to 1420.¹⁹² Özkutlu focuses on the status of Famagusta as a trading emporium for Western merchants between the thirteenth and ~~the~~ fifteenth centuries, contrary to the previous historiography which

¹⁸⁸ Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 2.

¹⁸⁹ Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 15.

¹⁹⁰ G. Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

¹⁹¹ Cf. footnote 14.

¹⁹² Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, 2.

identifies declining importance for Famagusta during the late fourteenth century. The scope of these two synthetic assessments of Western merchants' activities within a specific socio-economic context around the Eastern Mediterranean is very particularised and not directly relevant to my findings.

1.3 Limitations of primary sources and problematic approaches

The nature and availability of the primary sources present the first challenge for understanding the interactions between the Cilician economy and the long-distance trading activities facilitated by Western merchants. The primary sources consists of chronicles, inscriptions¹⁹³ and colophons of manuscripts.

The extant colophons of Armenian manuscripts are notable for their extensive chronological coverage: from the fifth century to the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, the localities of production extend from Iran and Central Asia to the East, Constantinople and Europe to the West, the Crimea to the north and Egypt to the south.¹⁹⁵ Because they were produced during the production of a manuscript and by people different from authors of chronicles, these colophons provide a more immediate description of prevailing socio-economic and political conditions at the locality of production.¹⁹⁶ For example, in a colophon produced in 1375 in Sis, the scribe described his personal experience witnessing the capture of Sis by the

¹⁹³ For the usefulness of inscriptions for illuminating the medieval Cilician society, cf. discoveries by G. Kiourtzian and I. Rapti discussed in 1.1.

¹⁹⁴ Though the extant oldest original colophon was produced in 887. The colophons dated earlier than this were reproductions in the eleventh and subsequent centuries. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, viii-ix and 4. For an overview of the study of such colophons from the nineteenth century onwards, cf. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 4-6.

¹⁹⁵ Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, vii. The production of Armenian manuscripts also shows the geographical extent of the Armenian merchant communities outside Asia Minor and the Caucasus. These merchant communities were to take on an important role in the formation of modern Armenian national identity. Cf. footnote 394.

¹⁹⁶ Such as the scribes, commissioners or sponsors, illuminators or craftsmen who did the binding. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, vii and xi.

Mamluks.¹⁹⁷ While these colophons do not illuminate the Western trading activities in Cilicia, they are a source of information on the Armenian society in Cilicia after the Mamluk conquest in 1375. For example, a colophon colophon in 1376 documents the purchase of a manuscript in Ayacium plundered from the castle of Lambron castle.¹⁹⁸ This colophon describes Ayacium as a ‘city’ and attests the ongoing local trading activities under the Mamluks.

The understandable recourse to medieval Armenian chronicles is impeded by various obstacles. T. Greenwood notes the tendency of historians to ‘cherry pick’ from the Armenian texts for specific research interests.¹⁹⁹ In particular, utilising many of the narrative sources covering the period between 1025 and 1204²⁰⁰ is not easily achieved. The only exception is the 1961 edition of a history by Kirakos Ganjakec‘i (c. 1200/1202-1271), produced by K. A. Melik‘-Öhanjanyani who consulted then-available, if not all, manuscripts.²⁰¹ Another more recent exception is the *Universal History of Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i*, a work completed at the beginning of the eleventh century and translated by Greenwood,²⁰² who is aware of the most recent edition by G. Manukyan in 2012.²⁰³

The major textual source for the Armenian kingdom in thirteenth-century Cilicia remains that by Smbat the Constable (1208-1276),²⁰⁴ brother of king Het‘um I. Other chronicles by Armenian authors produced during the thirteenth century include

¹⁹⁷ Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 99 (1375 no. 1).

¹⁹⁸ Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 100 (1376 no. 1).

¹⁹⁹ T. Greenwood, “Armenian Sources,” in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025-1204*, ed. M. Whitby (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007), 222.

²⁰⁰ Greenwood, “Armenian Sources,” 222, 225-226.

²⁰¹ Greenwood, “Armenian Sources,” 226.

²⁰² T. Greenwood, trans., *The Universal History of Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), vii.

²⁰³ Greenwood, *The Universal History of Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i*, 84.

²⁰⁴ Der Nersessian, “The Armenian Chronicle,” 143-168.

that of Het'um de Kiwrikos²⁰⁵ and Het'um II,²⁰⁶ who contributed primarily to the historiography of the Frankish East. In contrast, Smbat's chronicle provides more details about the Cilician society.²⁰⁷ Smbat authored a chronicle, adapted the secular legal code of Mxit'ar Goš (compiled in 1184)²⁰⁸ and translated the *Assizes of Antioch* from the Crusaders.²⁰⁹ His chronicle is important, for he had access to now-lost documents and was a witness to major events in the Armenian kingdom. It is particularly valuable for the period between 1163 and 1273.²¹⁰ The text of the chronicle is now preserved in two main manuscript traditions: two copies are held at the monastery of Ejmiacin while one was found at the monastery of San Lazzaro degli Armeni near Venice in the nineteenth century.²¹¹ The one from Venice is more important because it is dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, earlier than those from Ejmiacin, dated to the mid-nineteenth century.²¹² Based on the Ejmiacin manuscript, É. Dulaurier produced a French translation in 1869.²¹³ Based the Venice manuscript, G. Dédéyan later produced a French translation of this

²⁰⁵ Het'um de Kiwrikos, "La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*. Vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 111-253 [French] and 254-363 [Latin].

²⁰⁶ V. A. Hakobyan, *Manr Žamanakagrut'iunner, XIII-XVII dd.* Vol. 1 (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakch'ut'yun, 1951), 65-101. Cited from: Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 41.

²⁰⁷ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 9, 29 and 37. The Venice manuscripts also supply unique information on aspects ranging from dynastic succession, diverse social traditions found in Cilicia to the kingdom's neighbours: Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 31-34.

²⁰⁸ R. W. Thomson, trans., *The Lawcode [Datastanagirk'] of Mxit'ar Goš* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

²⁰⁹ Smbat the Constable, trans., *Assises d'Antioche: Reproduites en Français et Publiées au Sixième Centenaire de la Mort de Sempad le Connétable, Leur Ancien Traducteur Arménien: Dédiées à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres de France par la Société Mekhithariste de Saint-Lazare* (Venice: Impr. arménienne médaillée, 1876).

²¹⁰ Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle," 147.

²¹¹ There is one copy at the British Museum, similar to those at Ejmiacin with some differences. Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 10.

²¹² Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle," 143.

²¹³ É. Dulaurier, ed. and trans., "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie par le Connétable Sempad," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*. Vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1869), 605-680.

chronicle.²¹⁴ Despite numerous loan words from Arabic, French, Latin and Persian as well as influence of the vernacular Armenian,²¹⁵ Dédéyan thinks the text was written in classical Armenian.²¹⁶ Regarding the relationship between the two main manuscript traditions, S. der Nersessian thinks that the text in the two Eĵmiacin manuscripts is an abridgement of the Venice manuscript.²¹⁷ However, Dédéyan disagrees and argues for the existence of a common source on which these two main manuscript traditions were based independently. His conclusion is based on a comparative analysis of the Eĵmiacin and Venice manuscripts on their respective summary of earlier textual sources.²¹⁸ These two manuscript traditions complement each other in supplying information on historic events, as Kiourtzian's analysis of an undated inscription shows.²¹⁹

As these medieval Armenian texts record events both in Greater and Cilician Armenia,²²⁰ they are still helpful, in theory, for understanding economic activities in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. Probably because of a lack of critical editions, comparative analysis of Armenian vis-à-vis non-Armenian textual sources is still inadequate.²²¹ In turn, these Armenian textual sources play an insignificant role in works on the medieval Cilician economy. Even if the lack of *apparatus criticus* of Armenian textual sources is no longer an insurmountable obstacle, as observed by

²¹⁴ Cf. footnote 98. However, the modern edition of the text found at Venice from which Dédéyan translated is not a critical edition. Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 12; Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle," 143-144.

²¹⁵ For examples of loan words from other languages, cf. Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 23.

²¹⁶ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 12.

²¹⁷ Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle," 144-146. For translation of parts that are different in the two main manuscript traditions, cf. Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle," 147-166.

²¹⁸ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 14-17.

²¹⁹ Cf. 1.2, especially footnote 79. Had the Eĵmiacin text been a mere abridgement of that found at Venice, as asserted by der Nersessian, the Venice text would have contained all the information found in the Eĵmiacin text. Kiourtzian's discovery of information in the Eĵmiacin text not found in the Venice text undermines the assertion by der Nersessian.

²²⁰ Greenwood, "Armenian Sources," 223.

²²¹ Greenwood, "Armenian Sources," 228.

Edwards,²²² there is another obstacle to utilising these narrative sources: the focus of these texts is not on the economic activities of local or Western merchants. Other textual sources, e.g., narratives focusing on Crusader activities, only provide sporadic mentions of economic conditions in the kingdom. Notarial deeds, though abundant in number, are confined to selected places in the kingdom. There is no way of verifying to what extent they represented the trade in the region as a whole; thus they are currently not amenable to an analytical approach based on a kingdom-wide scope.

Another limitation on effectively analysing economic and trading activities in Cilicia is the adoption of a state-centred focus. Since this focus is implicit, a good point of departure is formed by the discussions on borderlands, based on which Yıldız critiques historians' interpretations of the historic formation of Seljuk-Cilician borderlands. Staking out the rationale for a focus on borderlands, M. Baud and W. Van Schendel emphasise power relations between states on either side of the border, the local elite and the local population.²²³ Since these power relations and the limits on them are most apparent in the borderlands, rather than at political centres controlling either side of the border, the multiplicity of actors in the borderlands is thus recognised. Baud and Van Schendel further argue that "borderland studies offer a way of correcting the distortions inherent in state-centered national histories".²²⁴ This multiplicity of actors along with the potential for critique in national histories offers Yıldız a conceptual basis for challenging modern historians' interpretations. The state, however, is still securely positioned in her critique, in its conceptual territorialisation and peripheries. In addition, the viability of Yıldız's approach depends on availability of different primary textual sources. For the maritime traffic flowing through

²²² Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 3.

²²³ M. Baud and W. Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History*, 8, no. 2 (1997), 219.

²²⁴ Baud and Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," 242.

medieval Cilicia, there is no record of traffic volume in the primary sources in any form conducive to a systematic interpretation. A more balanced interpretation the borderland society and economy is possible if there also exist historical narratives providing information on these aspects. In the case of Yıldız's critique above, access to different historical narratives provides different vantage points, i.e., perspectives of different protagonists. Without these different vantage points in the primary sources, an interpretational undertaking such as that of Yıldız is not possible for the medieval Cilician economy. Arguably, the portolan charts and handbooks provide such a vantage point, focusing on places during the medieval period. As will be shown in Chapter Two, however, there is a limitation on verifying their historical information with currently available archaeological data.

Modern historians' different vantage points have also led to opposite evaluations of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia based on similar primary sources: from very positive²²⁵ to completely dismissive of the existence of an Armenian kingdom.²²⁶ Since I focus on Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia, historic information on the locations of Western merchants' business operations is more important than what was happening at the centre of the political control. With this focus, I argue that the boundary and frontier are defined by the focus on a political centre of control and are thus not suitable for analysing Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia, which embrace regions far from the political centre of control. The futility of this approach to historical geography is also apparent. Places along the Cilician coast *per se* are not the centres of any historical narrative but are mentioned sporadically in the textual sources. Thus, Yıldız's critique articulates the

²²⁵ C. Mutaflan, "The Brilliant Diplomacy of Cilician Armenia," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2008), 93-110.

²²⁶ M. A. Kaşgarlı, *Kilikya Tâbi Ermeni Baronluğu Tarihi* (Ankara: Proses, 1990); cited from: Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier," 93.

difficulty of reconstructing the formation of the periphery but is less conducive to an interpretation of historical information found in other types of primary sources such as the portolan charts. Here I point out important limitations to be found in adopting a state-centred focus on the political centre of control and its effects on interpretations produced by later historians. For discussing the Cilician economy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this focus is still of some use, but is in need of further clarification.

P. Abrams defines two distinct features associated with the state: *state-idea* and *state-system*.²²⁷ Standing on its own, the state connotes a palpable entity with internal autonomy and agency.²²⁸ While this focus is convenient for constructing political narratives, by both contemporary and later historians, its ‘a-historicity’, based on an assumed internal autonomy,²²⁹ allows modern historians to present disparate social organisations and groups as necessarily belonging to a supposedly unified unit. Using the concept of the state when analysing medieval societies and economies is also problematic. It is conceivable that the state, the society and the economy overlapped in their organisation and participants, but the boundaries between each and every one of them are not always clear. Despite efforts by rulers around the medieval Mediterranean to influence or regulate economic and trading activities, it is questionable to assert that all these rulers represented states with uncontested authority and control over their territories.

This state-centred focus is also a ‘territorial trap’ when social processes and territories are conflated and the ‘fixed and natural boundaries’ of the latter are

²²⁷ P. Abrams, “Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State (1977),” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 1 (1988): 58.

²²⁸ Abrams, “The Difficulty of Studying the State,” 59-61.

²²⁹ Abrams, “The Difficulty of Studying the State,” 77.

attached to the former.²³⁰ Here, I view the organisation of governing, legislating and ceremonials as social processes without a necessary spatial implication, in order to detach the political from the implicit territorial assumption. The ambiguity of borders, pointed out by Baud and Van Schendel using modern examples of unstable state control, challenges the centralised authority of the state in the borderlands during the modern period. As evidence of Armenian political presence across the region can only be symbolised with individual locations, linear boundaries enclosing these locations are at best an extrapolation by modern historians. Before the rise of the nation-states, it is futile to extrapolate linear boundaries, except in the case of defensive walls clearly signifying a physical limit to a territorial space. But despite the limitations of the state-centred focus, Abrams' distinction between the two features associated with the state is still a basis for my approach, since this distinction will enable me to focus on state-system, but not state-idea, in Chapter Three. In Chapter Three, I will examine the effects and significance of the Armenian concessions, i.e., state-system, but not the legitimacy of such concessions, i.e., state-idea.

Towns, an alternative unit of analysis to the state, seem more appropriate as a focus for my thesis. Their agglomeration, i.e., an *archipelago of towns*, is used by J. L. Abu-Lughod as a unit of analysis for trade across Eurasia and North Africa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²³¹ The question that Abu-Lughod tries to answer is: why did the (trade) sub-systems not intermingle further and turn into interdependent world-systems in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,²³² despite strong commercial links across the Eurasian continent? Each sub-system was an archipelago of towns

²³⁰ P. E. Steinberg, "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood: The Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 87, no. 4 (2005): 255.

²³¹ J. L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: the World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

²³² Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 124-125.

linked by trading activities. The prosperity of these towns depended on their intermediary role between outside demand and products brought from their hinterlands.²³³ She divides thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Eurasian trade into different sub-systems and discusses interactions between them.²³⁴ Outside demand, which sustained these highpoints in the conceptual archipelago, did not remain static, but fluctuated over time. The fluctuation of outside demand altered the favoured status of a town within a sub-system. Abu-Lughod argues that the then world-systems comprised different core powers and no hierarchy among these powers.²³⁵ Since an archipelago of towns does not involve the state, it seems to be a more appropriate conceptual basis for analysing the Cilician economy. However, her expansive geographical scope renders Cilician places other than Ayacium insignificant, unless they are the highpoints in the archipelago. Another issue with her approach is her habit of using comparatively small pieces of evidence regarding individual towns to arrive at a conclusion that embraces the enabling conditions of trade across the whole Eurasian continent. This interpretative approach is fundamentally flawed. The space between towns was not vacant, but full of dynamics that could facilitate or hinder interactions between towns. In addition, focusing on major urban centres neglects the fact that not all Cilician places were important in relation to the size of their market. For example, there is evidence of local pottery production at Işıkkale and Karakabaklı near Seleph, but these two locations are invisible in primary textual sources.²³⁶ Such a focus on the ‘highpoints’ of an archipelago of towns could also be seen in the assertion by A. D. Stewart that towns other than Ayacium were ‘often little more than

²³³ Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 270-271.

²³⁴ Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 34.

²³⁵ Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 364-365.

²³⁶ Varinlioğlu, “Living in a marginal environment,” 308.

trading depots'.²³⁷ While the relationships between towns and their hinterlands are marginal to Abu-Lughod's discussion, the economic activities within the kingdom are insignificant in Stewart's approach to the diplomatic relations between the Armenians and the Mamluks. I agree with Jacoby that the dominance of Ayacium in trade in the kingdom should not overshadow rural and local manufacturing and commercial activities at other places.²³⁸ The importance of other places in the kingdom is also emphasised, albeit briefly, by der Nersessian in her history of the kingdom.²³⁹

Above, I discussed limitations on the state-centred focus, which, though implicit, proves an obstacle for modern historians wishing to employ certain types of primary sources such as portolan charts and handbooks.²⁴⁰ Acknowledging such limitations opens up two avenues for evaluating these available primary sources. On the one hand, interpreting portolan charts and handbooks demands an approach to primary sources that do not implicate the state-centred focus. For this, I will develop a new approach to better encapsulate the geographical distribution of important places for maritime traffic. On the other hand, the question of Armenian institutional accommodations for the Western merchants touches on institutional structure and legal practices encountered by the Western merchants in the Armenian kingdom (state-system), not on the projected idea of the kingdom (state-idea) as advocated by the then intellectuals. Such a distinction is required because I will focus on the ways in which Armenian concessions were to work (state-system), but not the legitimacy of these concessions (state-idea). Below, I provide an overview of scholarship on these two relevant primary sources, the portolan materials and the concessional texts. I will

²³⁷ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 26.

²³⁸ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 285.

²³⁹ Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 68-69.

²⁴⁰ These two types of primary sources have been exploited by archaeologists and historians on questions relating to maritime traffic and trading activities along the Eastern Mediterranean. One such research project, the Strymon Delta Project, will be briefly discussed below in 1.6.

then discuss the ways in which these primary sources illuminate the Western mercantile activities in medieval Cilicia.

1.4 Portolan charts and handbooks as historical sources

The historical information found in portolan charts and handbooks regarding toponyms has been acknowledged and exploited for the case of medieval Cilicia: in 1999, E. Rebuffat analysed the toponymic development for Narlıkuyu (the Turkish name of a district in the Mersin province) by examining the portolan charts and handbooks.²⁴¹ However, recent developments in the study of historic cartography have enabled analyses of these sources within a wider geographical scope, instead of focusing on one location.

The study of historic cartography has benefited from a series of scholarly works that view medieval nautical cartography as a distinct scientific development during this period, rather than as individual objects of curiosity. Beginning with A. E. Nordenskiöld,²⁴² this scholarly tradition culminated in the seminal survey by T. Campbell in 1987²⁴³ and a more updated general overview by R. J. Pujades i Bataller in 2007 in Catalan with an accompanying English translation.²⁴⁴ The survey by Pujades i Bataller is especially valuable, for his extensive search in archives around the Western Mediterranean and his analysis of the socio-cultural and technical

²⁴¹ E. Rebuffat, "Geografi, Naviganti, Esploratori: Vicende di un Toponimo Cilice," *Orbis Terrarum: Internationale Zeitschrift für Historische Geographie der Alten Welt* 5 (1999): 195-216.

²⁴² A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-directions*, trans. F. A. Bather (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1897).

²⁴³ T. Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 371-463. In 2011, T. Campbell published a list of detailed updates for his chapter originally published in 1987. T. Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500. Additions, Corrections, Updates," accessed 20 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/portolanchapter.html>.

²⁴⁴ R. J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes: La Representació Medieval d'una Mar Solcada* (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2007), 401-526 (in English). While there is no index in this book by R. J. Pujades i Bataller, Campbell has compiled an index for this purpose in his own list of detailed updates published online in 2011. cf. footnote 243.

developments²⁴⁵ that occasioned the appearance of nautical cartographic works that were later known as portolan charts and portolan handbooks.²⁴⁶

While Pujades i Bataller includes portolan handbooks in his discussion, he primarily focuses on the portolan charts. For the portolan handbooks, the most important compilation and analysis remain that of K. Kretschmer,²⁴⁷ whose large-scale toponymic survey covering the whole Mediterranean²⁴⁸ remains valuable today.²⁴⁹ Aside from Kretschmer's work, P. Gautier Dalché, when introducing an early portolan handbook, provides an exceptional example of analysing a portolan handbook.²⁵⁰ In addition to his invaluable work based on the archival sources, Pujades i Bataller also provided a complete list of all portolan charts up to 1469 known by the time of his book's publication.²⁵¹ The reproduced images are included in an accompanying DVD. This collection of images is a scholarly contribution of its own, because it makes accessible all these portolan charts for researchers.

In his own survey published in 1987, Campbell concluded that the Adriatic region was sensitive to toponymic changes over time.²⁵² Building on Campbell's conclusion, Pujades i Bataller transcribed and analysed two stretches of coastline, Catalonia-Valencia and northern Adriatic, on those pre-1465 portolan charts he

²⁴⁵ These include: transition of the Romance languages into written form, which can be seen in the spelling place-names on the portolan charts, adoption of decimal mathematical notation from the Islamic tradition, which was important for the scale bars on the portolan charts, and spread of writing as a vehicle of social organisation, which facilitated the accumulation of information. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 410-412.

²⁴⁶ Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 84-106 (159 excerpts from the archival sources); 423-451 (analysis in English and English translation of these excerpts).

²⁴⁷ K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962).

²⁴⁸ In 'Kommentar': Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 553-687.

²⁴⁹ T. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names (an extended essay)," accessed 30 April 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ToponymyInnovations.html>, 'Summary'.

²⁵⁰ P. Gautier Dalché, ed., *Carte Marine et Portulan au XIIe Siècle: Le Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1995), 1-106.

²⁵¹ Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 63-70. For a discussion of this cut-off date, cf. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 423.

²⁵² Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 372-373 and 415-428.

surveyed.²⁵³ In turn, Campbell has produced a comprehensive survey of Mediterranean toponyms based on the list compiled by Pujades i Bataller for portolan charts up till 1469 and other later portolan charts.²⁵⁴ From this comprehensive toponymic survey,²⁵⁵ Campbell highlighted toponymic cases for which he has a different interpretation from that of Pujades i Bataller.²⁵⁶

While I will rely on Pujades i Bataller's list in the next chapter for my analysis, one limitation on his work should be noted: his observations regarding non-Western historic cartography is not always informative. For example, in his section on the cartographic tradition of the medieval Greek East, he observed that the first signed and dated work covering the whole Mediterranean did not appear until the beginning of the seventeenth century.²⁵⁷ While this statement is true, he did not mention the anonymous portolan handbook in Greek that could be dated to the sixteenth century.²⁵⁸

Another useful source of information on research into historic cartography is the gateway site²⁵⁹ established in 1996 and launched in 1997 by Campbell,²⁶⁰ formerly Map Librarian at the British Library. As his website provides all relevant

²⁵³ Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 522. Pujades i Bataller's transcription of the northern Adriatic toponyms can be found in the Catalan part of the book: Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 350-385. In addition to this northern Adriatic region, he also transcribed and analysed the continental littoral toponyms of the Crown of Aragon: Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 386-397.

²⁵⁴ T. Campbell, "Securely Dated post-1469 charts used for the transcription or selective checking of the place-names between Dunkirk and Mogador," accessed 5 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/LaterChartsTable.doc>. In this online document, Campbell has also provided hyperlinks to the images of portolan charts that are available.

²⁵⁵ The most updated one can be found in: T. Campbell, "Portolan Chart Toponymy," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanChartToponymyFullTableREVISED.xls>.

²⁵⁶ For example, cf. T. Campbell, "Rare Names, Toponymic Gaps and Reintroductions," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/IrregularNames.doc>, 'Table A. Examples of long time-gaps before the apparent second appearance of Vescontian names on dated works' and 'Table E. Numbered names listed in Pujades (2009) from the 1439 Vallseca (pp. 151-81) which are not included in the 'Significant Names' listing, or where our interpretations are different'.

²⁵⁷ Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 507-508.

²⁵⁸ A. Delatte, ed., *Les Portulans Grecs* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1947). For the description of this text, cf. 2.8.2.

²⁵⁹ 'Http://www.maphistory.info/'.

²⁶⁰ Pers. comm. 9 May 2018 with T. Campbell.

bibliographical information on current and historical research into medieval portolan materials, I have incorporated results of analyses that are illuminating for the historical development of these materials and relevant to my toponymic analysis in Chapter Two. While Campbell has incorporated a wide range of relevant modern research into historic cartography, he has also published results of his own analyses and research on this website subsequent to his seminal survey of portolan charts published in 1987.²⁶¹ All materials published by Campbell on this gateway website include an initial publication date just below the essay title on the webpage. If there have been alterations after the initial publication on the website, dates are inserted in the text where alterations were made. When citing analyses from this gateway website, I have provided relevant bibliographical information in the same form as when I refer to online sources in the footnotes. In the Bibliography for these references, I have also added in parentheses the initial publication date of the cited texts on the website. As the page numbers for print-out of these web-pages may vary, I have indicated in footnotes the name of the relevant subsections within an essay by Campbell. Because of these works by cartographical historians in recent times, we now have a better understanding of these portolan materials that are known and available and their limitations in providing historic information. In addition to the above main research developments, there have also appeared several online bibliographies which provide an overview of the discipline: *Bibliographia Cartographica*,²⁶² that of Campbell,²⁶³ that of the journal *Imago Mundi*²⁶⁴ and that of Sánchez.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ Cf. footnote 243.

²⁶² <http://bc.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/index.php?lang=de>. Accessed 19 August 2018. It is compiled by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in cooperation with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Kartographie.

²⁶³ T. Campbell, "Bibliography," accessed 19 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/portolanref.html>.

²⁶⁴ It is published by Taylor & Francis with ISSN 0308-5694 (print) and 1479-7801 (online).

There have been works incorporating systematically historic information from the portolan materials before the publication of Campbell's and Pujades i Bataller's works, but they remain scarce.²⁶⁶ The limited systematic use made by modern economic historians of portolan charts is in part a result of their visual features. For medieval portolan charts,²⁶⁷ the primacy of spatial data over historical information about society and people when visualising the world is a shaping factor. I agree with the observation made by M. Veikou that space has not received similar focus to that on time by historians,²⁶⁸ despite space being an integral part of most narratives found in textual sources. Analysing the *Life of St Lazaros from Mount Galesion*, Veikou demonstrates the importance of analysing the interaction between social conditions and space in relation to human agency in a narrative.²⁶⁹ However, instead of treating 'space as a historical agent' as suggested by Veikou regarding Byzantine archaeology,²⁷⁰ I emphasise here only that space is the defining feature of portolan charts, in which every place is depicted in its relationship to Mediterranean coastlines. In medieval portolan handbooks,²⁷¹ three spatial elements constrain the appearance of historical information regarding past people and society, namely direction, distance and topographical features. The emphasis on spatial data in the portolan charts and handbooks leads to two difficulties for historians, who consult these sources to corroborate historical events or economic phenomena. The first difficulty is the wider chronological scope for the historical information contained in these two sources, so

²⁶⁵ E. G. Sánchez, "Cartografía Náutica Medieval. Una Síntesis Bibliográfica," accessed 19 August 2018, https://www.academia.edu/28511503/Cartograf%C3%ADa_n%C3%A1utica_medieval._Una_s%C3%ADntesis_bibliogr%C3%A1fica.

²⁶⁶ For examples of such systematic use by economic historians, cf. 1.6.

²⁶⁷ For the definition of this term in my thesis, cf. 2.1.

²⁶⁸ M. Veikou, "Space in Texts and Space as Texts: A new approach to Byzantine notions," *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016): 143.

²⁶⁹ Veikou, "Space in Texts and Space as Texts," 154.

²⁷⁰ Veikou, "Space in Texts and Space as Texts," 147.

²⁷¹ For the definition of this term in my thesis, cf. 2.1.

historians often cannot explain the origin of historical events by referring to these two sources. The second difficulty is the relative invisibility of political boundaries in the case of medieval Cilicia in these two sources.²⁷² Without a clear demarcation of the political boundaries, these two sources do not provide immediate guidance regarding the geographical extent which historians should examine when consulting these sources. This difficulty resulting from the lack of political boundaries, however, is the result of not distinguishing social processes from territories with ‘fixed and natural boundaries’.²⁷³ I do not argue for the irrelevance of political boundaries to discussions of Western trading activities in the Armenian kingdom. Instead, I argue for first extracting historical information found in the portolan charts and handbooks before demarcating a geographical extent of my examination. For the purpose of such a demarcation, historic political boundaries are problematic as pointed out by Yıldız.

As discussed above, the concept of a territorial state may be broken up into two constituent elements: territoriality and the state. These two elements are related in depictions of boundaries on modern maps and can also be seen in examples from later medieval portolan charts. P. E. Steinberg contends that the representation of islands as ‘bounded spaces that exhibited temporal stability, territorial indivisibility and socio-political homogeneity’ contributed to the modern imagination of states.²⁷⁴ Since this relationship between islands’ representation on the portolan charts and the

²⁷² An exception can be seen in Figure 2-8 (the Catalan Atlas; dated c.1375). The thick green line marking boundaries, however, may also reflect ambivalence because the line was painted over several coastal place-names. Also in the Catalan Atlas, there are two flags within the green line for the Armenian kingdom. On closer examination, these two are the same as those in Figure 2-7 (dated 1339). Among other surveyed portolan charts, only Figure 2-9 (dated 1368-1385) features a flag. It is not clear why Figure 2-9 features a different flag from those shown in Figure 2-8, which could be dated to a similar period. In the Catalan Atlas, the flagpoles are pointing to two place-names: *lanuzo* for the black flag and *gulf de caramela* for the lion’s flag. If these two flags were not related to the Armenian kingdom, the alternatives would be the military orders’ flags. This requires vexillological analysis, however.

²⁷³ Cf. footnote 230 and related discussions above.

²⁷⁴ Steinberg, “Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood,” 259-260.

visualisation of territorial states became apparent only from the sixteenth century onwards,²⁷⁵ detaching territoriality from the state is necessary in order to utilise earlier portolan charts as historical sources for the medieval Mediterranean. Even within the limitations of the textual sources, Jacoby's efforts demonstrate the necessity of viewing the medieval Cilician economy as one consisting of multiple places, rather than just a kingdom that can be discussed in terms of one prominent urban place.

The limits of the state and thus its inapplicability, having been emphasised above, the spatial features associated with the Armenian kingdom become more discernible in the primary sources. Such a shift of emphasis from the Armenian kingdom to the geographical space it occupied eliminates the need to identify borders controlled by the states, when taking the first step to consult the portolan charts and handbooks. Since the important information conveyed by these two sources is the appearance and importance of places, a different theoretical approach to patterns of settlements is needed to understand their significance. Such a different theoretical approach is discussed in 2.6, but here I provide justifications for utilising the portolan charts and handbooks, instead of basing my interpretation on primary narrative textual sources.

Despite some limitations attached to their use, portolan charts and handbooks are a viable and sometimes essential source of data. Their appearance coincided with an increase in maritime traffic from the twelfth century onwards. After the First Crusade (1095-1099), the social backgrounds of the pilgrims became diversified because of better access to Jerusalem through maritime routes across the Mediterranean in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁷⁶ The history of cartographical

²⁷⁵ Steinberg, "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood," 253.

²⁷⁶ D. Jacoby, "Evolving Routes of Western Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Eleventh to Fifteenth Century: An Overview," in *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion / On the Road in the Name of Religion*.

traditions provides instances of visual perceptions of the then-known world, though details and methods varied. Textual sources providing nautical guides and descriptions of travels had never been lacking during this early period;²⁷⁷ the appearance of portolan charts and handbooks might have occurred as late as the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century.²⁷⁸ However, the portolan charts and handbooks do not directly indicate the type of economic activities conducted by Western merchants. If the Mediterranean was a social space for developing merchants' practices,²⁷⁹ its depiction on the portolan charts and handbooks seems devoid of any social context. It is this lack of social context, in addition to the primacy of space in visualisation, that prevents historians from systematically interpreting them. With this lack of social contexts, these primary sources play only a subsidiary role in the most recent discussion by Jacoby on the Cilician economy. For instance, by 1320, because the harbour of Ayacium was no longer capable of accommodating incoming ships while the latter waited for inspection, Lewon IV (r. 1320-1341) therefore permitted the Venetians in 1321 to be inspected on a sandy beach to the east of Ayacium.²⁸⁰ This sandy beach is identified by Jacoby using an unpublished portolan handbook at Minneapolis, MN.²⁸¹

Pilgern als Form von Kontingenzbewältigung und Zukunftssicherung in den Weltreligionen / Pilgrimage as a Means of Coping with Contingency and Fixing the Future in the World, ed. K. Herbers and H. C. Lehner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 82-83.

²⁷⁷ For example, *De Viis Maris* from the twelfth century. P. Gautier Dalché, ed., *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde: Une Géographie Urbaine et Maritime de la Fin du XIIIe Siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 173-229.

²⁷⁸ D. Jacoby, "An Unpublished Medieval Portolan of the Mediterranean in Minneapolis," in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. R. Gertwagen and E. Jeffreys (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 71.

²⁷⁹ Q. van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," in *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa*, ed. Q. van Doosselaere (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 26.

²⁸⁰ "Item, petit a nobis prefatus ambaxator, quod cum mercatores veneti veniebant Ayatium et habebant multas merces ad discargandum et non poterant discargare, nisi in portu, redundabat eis ad maximum damnum et periculum, et quod deberent habere licentiam discargandi in Splaia, que vocatur in nostra lingua Ialon. Nostra responsio fuit, quod omnes mercatores veneti debeant deinceps discargare omnes suas merces in Ialonem, salvo argentum, quod volumus quod volumus quod in portu

The colour of the place-names, however, presents another hitherto exploited aspects of the portolan charts for the study of medieval Cilician economy. In portolan charts, more important place-names were written in red, thus creating a three-tier classification for the importance of a place: (1) non-appearance, (2) in black and (3) in red. Along the Cilician coast, there are cases of changing importance for various places in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, signifying the changing hierarchy of importance for Cilician coastal places over these two centuries. The abundance of such visual data from the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries is in sharp contrast with the scarcity of such data from the thirteenth century.

Their potential for answering my questions about the Western merchants' activities is derived from the intermediary role of ports in medieval Cilicia. There have been different approaches by modern historians to traffic over land as opposed to that on the sea. The road network connecting the Cilician coast with regions further inland are laid out by F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper²⁸² and Mutaſian.²⁸³ These presented road networks are based on the narratives of historians and travellers. Although such road networks do not indicate the frequency of travels on one route or another, they offer possibilities for modern historians to reconstruct human movements over land. For example, military campaign movements or a particular journey can be simulated based on available information such as its duration and the topographical features along the way. Such attempts have been made, e.g., modelling

discargaretur." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 87 §10. For my reason of retaining 'quod volumus quod volumus', cf. footnote 1339 below. A colophon produced in 1337 mentioned that king Lewon IV built the city of Ayacium 'with much expense'. This probably also included the port facilities. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 79 (1337 no. 2).

²⁸¹ Jacoby, "An Unpublished Medieval Portolan of the Mediterranean in Minneapolis," 71.

²⁸² F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Bd. 5, Kilikien und Isaurien*. Part 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 131.

²⁸³ C. Mutaſian, *Le Royaume Arménien de Cilicie: XIIIe-XIVe Siècle* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993), 101.

of the Byzantine military marches leading to the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.²⁸⁴ Depending on the nature of queries, there may also be proxy data indicating possible volumes of traffic over land. For Early Bronze Age Upper Mesopotamia, T. Kalayci uses modern vegetation data to indicate the varying levels of soil compaction, which in turn indicates volumes of traffic in the past.²⁸⁵ Because the Early Bronze Age radial hollow way system is structurally distinct from those of later periods,²⁸⁶ detecting it is theoretically possible. Although the frequency of their actual usage depends on human factors along each route,²⁸⁷ a network of land routes provides a realm of possibilities for understanding past movements of goods and people overland. Use of a particular land route during a particular period can be verified by available primary textual sources or archaeological data. Neither in conventional textual sources nor in currently available archaeological finds are there data for determining which coastal places, besides Ayacium, served as ports for the Western merchants visiting medieval Cilicia, however. Only the portolan charts and handbooks contain such proxy data for maritime traffic through the region of Cilicia, as will be discussed in Chapter Two.

In addition to determining potential ports, volumes of sea traffic are also difficult to reconstruct. A typical example from the textual sources is the account of William of Rubruck, a Franciscan friar who was probably born between 1215 and 1230 in French Flanders.²⁸⁸ The Franciscans were one of the main religious orders set up and authorised by the papacy during the thirteenth century to preach Gospel in the

²⁸⁴ P. S. Murgatroyd, "Medieval warfare on the grid" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2012).

²⁸⁵ T. Kalayci, "A Remote Sensing Approach for Exploring Ancient Traffic," *International Journal of Heritage in the Digital Era* 4, no. 3 (2015): 265.

²⁸⁶ Kalayci, "A Remote Sensing Approach for Exploring Ancient Traffic," 261.

²⁸⁷ T. C. Wilkinson, "Macro-scale Analysis of Material Culture in Their Landscapes: Case-studies in 'Invisible Flows'," in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 12-16 April 2010*. Vol. 1, ed. R. Matthews and J. Curtis (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 650.

²⁸⁸ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255*, trans. P. Jackson (1990 Reprint, Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co., 2009), 39-47.

Middle East and Asia.²⁸⁹ William of Rubruck's mission took place after three previous papal embassies advocating conversion to Christianity to the Mongols.²⁹⁰ On his return from his mission (1253-1255)²⁹¹ to the Mongols in Karakorum, William of Rubruck sent his luggage at Curcus in 1255 to Acre before leaving for Sis.²⁹² It is unclear what kind of vessel it was and if the vessel stopped at other ports on its way to Acre. The duration of a sea journey can be calculated and the places of embarkation and disembarkation are known. Unlike a journey by land, however, there is no way of reconstructing the actual route of this vessel on the sea, despite the conceivable need for fresh water supply.²⁹³

Even when such maritime itineraries are indicated on a map, e.g., in Figure 1-3, it is not possible, based on textual sources, to know which Cilician coastal places were visited more often by the Western merchants. Again, the colour of place-names in the portolan charts indicates relative importance of a coastal place and can partially address this problem.

²⁸⁹ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, 1-2.

²⁹⁰ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, 26-28. For a detailed account by Giovanni di Plano Carpini, also a Franciscan, concerning one earlier embassy, cf. E. Hildinger, trans., *The Story of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars = Historia Mongalorum Quos Nos Tartaros Appellamus: Friar Giovanni di Plano Carpini's Account of His Embassy to the Court of the Mongol Khan* (Boston, MA: Branden Pub. Co, 1996).

²⁹¹ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, xi-xv (chronology of Rubruck's mission).

²⁹² William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, 273-274.

²⁹³ D. Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, 8th-11th centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries: the Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange. Papers of the Thirty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004*, ed. M. M. Mango (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 376.

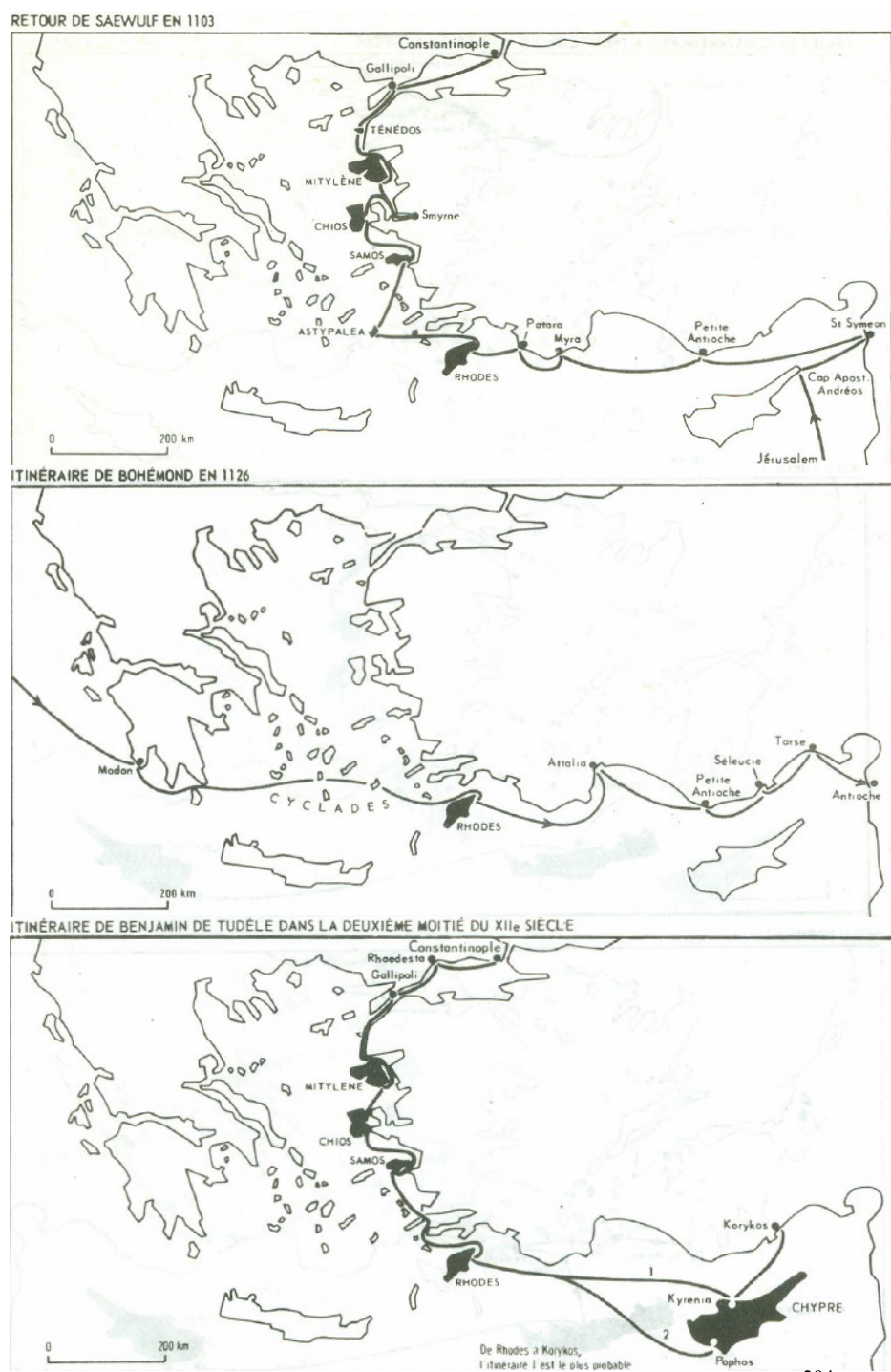


Figure 1-3. Three maritime itineraries in the twelfth century²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ E. Malamut, *Les Îles de l'Empire Byzantin: VIIIe-XIe siècle*. Vol. 2 (Paris: Université de Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1988), 660-662.

This disparity between analysing movements by land and by sea cannot be solved, unless there exist data showing volumes of traffic through different Cilician ports. The closest proxy data of maritime traffic, the shipwrecks, are not useful. A. Wilson demonstrates various chronological distributions of shipwrecks datable earlier than 1500 by using revised dating methods.²⁹⁵ Regardless of his revised dating methods, the number of shipwrecks dated later than the sixth century remains small,²⁹⁶ and there is no shipwreck recorded along the Cilician coast in the database he uses.²⁹⁷ It is also not possible to use spices as a proxy for traffic volume.²⁹⁸ Further compounding the problem, Ayacium features prominently in the textual sources, e.g., in the merchant handbook by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti written in the fourteenth century.²⁹⁹ It is then not surprising to see efforts for analysing the Cilician economy focus on Ayacium. Responding to this focus on Ayacium and the perspective based on the concept of core and periphery, I propose to employ the portolan charts and handbooks to better understand the maritime traffic flowing through the medieval Cilician coast, by examining which coastal places were recorded in them. The Cilician coast, consisting of numerous ports and various routes going inland, is a prime example of an intermediary geographical zone between two modes of transportation. While the portolan charts and handbooks do not provide information for an actual journey that a merchant took, they do provide data on available places for anchoring

²⁹⁵ A. Wilson, "Developments in Mediterranean shipping and maritime trade from the Hellenistic period to AD 1000," in *Maritime Archaeology and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean*, ed. D. Robinson and A. Wilson (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, 2011), 33.

²⁹⁶ For example, Wilson, "Developments in Mediterranean shipping and maritime trade from the Hellenistic period to AD 1000," 36.

²⁹⁷ I used the database Oxford Roman Economy Project (http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/shipwrecks_database/), which A. Wilson used for his chapter cited in footnote 295. Accessed 1 November 2017.

²⁹⁸ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 267.

²⁹⁹ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), 59-63.

or provisioning for the ships. Individually, portolan charts do not reveal the volume of traffic, but considered as a collective source of data, they do reveal the changing importance of one coastal place in relation to others in Cilicia over time. Systematic interpretation of such data also provides an opportunity for much needed historical research informed by port geographical theories.³⁰⁰

My focus on portolan charts and handbooks produced in the Western Mediterranean is justified for three reasons. First, since the focus is on the Western merchants sailing along the Cilician coast, the portolan charts and handbooks offer relevant data regarding places they potentially visited. Second, these charts and handbooks also offer a continuous source over a considerable period of time, while there is only one instance of an Armenian map from the medieval period. This anonymous map from Crimea (16.5cm*12.5cm),³⁰¹ dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, is currently the earliest known map in Armenian.³⁰² It is a theological visualisation of the world, placing Jerusalem at the centre, however.³⁰³ While Cyprus, Constantinople and Venice are mentioned on this map, Cilicia is not.³⁰⁴ As the region of Cilicia was where the Armenian kingdom was recognised as such by the Crusaders and the popes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, its absence from this map in Armenian makes this map irrelevant for my thesis. Another map in Armenian, dated to 1691, was discovered in Bologna in 1991.³⁰⁵ This second-oldest known map in Armenian (120cm*358cm) was prepared in 1691 by Eremia Chelebi Keomiurdjian of Constantinople (1637-1695), covering areas between the

³⁰⁰ A. K. Y. Ng, C. Ducruet, W. Jacobs, J. Monios, T. Notteboom, J.-P. Rodrigue, B. Slack, K.-C. Tam, and G. Wilmsmeier, "Port geography at the crossroads with human geography: between flows and spaces," *Journal of Transport Geography* 41 (2014): 94.

³⁰¹ Matenadaran ms. 1242, f. 132r°. R. Galichian, "A Medieval Armenian T-O Map," *Imago Mundi* 60, no. 1 (2008): 86, 91.

³⁰² Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia*, 16 and 20.

³⁰³ Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia*, 49.

³⁰⁴ Galichian, "A Medieval Armenian T-O Map," 89.

³⁰⁵ Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia*, 20.

Caspian Sea and the Bosphorus.³⁰⁶ Because this map does not cover the Mediterranean, it is also not relevant to my thesis. Other cartographical traditions found in Arabic or Ottoman literature are only introduced when examples are cited, as the primary sources from around the Western Mediterranean are abundant enough for a provisional conclusion. Third, the portolan charts and handbooks are a source of data that covered the whole Mediterranean. By conducting in-depth analyses of the Cilician coast, my thesis addresses the imbalance in modern cartographical literature that often cites examples from the Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts, by examining the medieval Cilician coast.³⁰⁷ I will show that economic activities of the Western merchants were not confined to the major settlements in the kingdom, by pointing out the changing importance of Cilician places. In other words, I do not challenge Jacoby's thesis, but rather further expand the scope of his discussion of the kingdom's economy to cover geographically contiguous coastal areas that were not always controlled by the Armenians.

1.5 Armenian concessional documents as historical legal sources

While Chapter Two presents a theoretical approach resulting from the nature of selected primary source data, Chapter Three tackles the questions of institutional accommodations regarding Western merchants' activities in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean. I rely on the distinction between 'state-idea' and 'state-system' proposed by Abrams as a conceptual basis. In particular, I will present justifications for a focus on Armenian concessional texts issued to Genoa and Venice and their

³⁰⁶ Galichian, *Historic Maps of Armenia*, 76-77.

³⁰⁷ Examining histories of places that appeared in the portolan charts will also illuminate the time-lag between these places' commercial developments and chart-makers' acknowledgement in their portolan charts. T. Campbell, "Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1311-1677). A Detailed Investigation. Commentary on the Analysis," accessed 30 April 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesCommentary.html>, 'Introduction'.

significance in comparison with similar concessional texts obtained by the same cities from other medieval Eastern Mediterranean rulers.

Though a misnomer in its modern definition, the word ‘concession’ better describes these documents than the commonly used ‘trade privilege’ or ‘privilege’. These documents, issued by the Armenian kings to Genoa and Venice during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, certainly contain rights and privileges for the merchants carrying out their business or passing through the kingdom. But these rights and privileges touched on various aspects of merchants’ presence and activities in the kingdom, in addition to trading. ‘Trade privilege’ is thus an inadequate term for these documents. ‘Privilege’, on the other hand, carries connotations of being advantageous, which, as will be shown in Chapter Three, is not necessarily the case. Thus, I chose ‘concession’, derived from the main verb frequently used in these documents, *concedo* (I grant), as the characteristic of these documents. By changing the focus from something that was being granted, i.e., ‘trade privilege’ and ‘privilege’, to the action engendering such rights and privileges, i.e., ‘concession’, I aim to show the negotiating process leading to this action and focus on the subject of this action, i.e., the Armenian kings. Therefore, I call these documents ‘concessions’ and ‘concessional texts’.

In contrast to the marginal role of portolan charts and handbooks in discussions on the medieval Cilician economy, concessional documents are ubiquitous. Since these concessions contain tax exemptions and categories of goods to be regulated, these texts are an obvious source for economic historians. Some modern historians have regarded these tax-preferential treatments as fiscally devastating to the rulers who granted them. Concessions such as those issued from the Armenian

kingdom to Western merchants have also been viewed as a survival strategy³⁰⁸ or as competing measures by the Armenians to attract trade activities during times of political chaos in the Crusader Levant.³⁰⁹ There are dissenting views, however, regarding the assumed negative impact of these concessions on medieval Eastern Mediterranean local economies. On the one hand, preferential tax concessions may not be as important as the underlying societal structures in influencing Western merchants' activities in the Eastern Mediterranean.³¹⁰ On the other hand, the perceived negative impact of concessions on local economies in the Eastern Mediterranean has been contested by archaeological and textual data. P. Armstrong argues that the new commercial activities had positive effects on even the lowest levels of rural society.³¹¹ M. F. Hendy first casts doubt on modern historians' negative assessment of Byzantine tax concessions.³¹² He then convincingly proves that the revenues or largesse granted by emperors to dignitaries substantially outweighed the potential revenue losses caused by tax exemption obtained by the Western merchants.³¹³ After examining the number of Latin merchants and the volume of investments by these merchants, Hendy concludes that the total figure of the Venetian investment in 1171 was c.345,000 *hyperpyra* and that an emperor potentially forfeited 37,000 *hyperpyra per annum* in tax revenues. This figure, he argues, is outweighed by the annual revenue appropriate for a single *sebastokrator* (σεβαστοκράτωρ), the highest imperial title after co-emperor in the twelfth century, i.e., 40,000 *hyperpyra*.

³⁰⁸ Abulafia, "The Levant trade of the minor," 192.

³⁰⁹ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 7-8.

³¹⁰ Van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," 33-34.

³¹¹ P. Armstrong, "The survey area in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods," in *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: the Laconia Survey*. Vol. I *Methodology and Interpretation*, by W. Cavanagh et al. (London: British School at Athens, 2002), 361-368.

³¹² M. F. Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (1970): 40-41.

³¹³ M. F. Hendy, "'Byzantium, 1081-1204': The economy revisited, twenty years on," in *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, by M. F. Hendy (London: Variorum, 1989), III, 34.

He thus concludes that tax concessions granted to the Western merchants may only have a small impact on the Byzantine tax revenue, which depended more on revenue derived from lands.³¹⁴ The impact of Western merchants' activities on the Byzantine economy during the twelfth century, in Hendy's view, has been an 'overemphasised non-problem'.³¹⁵ Moreover, these merchants' activities in the western and northern Aegean ports and their hinterlands could be one of the catalysts for local economic activities, in addition to the demands from Constantinople,³¹⁶ thus producing positive impact.³¹⁷ Regarding the Crusader kingdoms in Syria, J. Riley-Smith makes similar observations on the positive impact of commercial privileges obtained by Western merchants on the local economy.³¹⁸

This focus on preferential taxation, which could be quantified, diverts attention from another significant aspect, which requires qualitative interpretations and which is also amenable to comparisons across the region. Jacoby rightly cautions the limiting potential of utilising textual sources from the Western merchants regarding the Cilician economy,³¹⁹ as these textual sources, whether narrative texts or commercial contracts, were produced by individuals who were not Armenians in Cilicia. I beg to differ, though, that we should not dismiss the potential of such sources for wider comparisons. In addition to the categories and prices of commodities, these concessional texts comprise evidence of institutional accommodations by local rulers around the Eastern Mediterranean. Instances of these institutional accommodations include naturalisation, recognition of customary

³¹⁴ Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081-1204': The economy revisited," 26.

³¹⁵ Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081-1204': The economy revisited," 25.

³¹⁶ Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081-1204': The economy revisited," 24-25.

³¹⁷ Hendy, "Byzantium, 1081-1204': The economy revisited," 24.

³¹⁸ J. Riley-Smith, "Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants," in *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*, by J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), XI 109-132.

³¹⁹ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 261.

practices of the Western merchants and the administration of justice. Naturalisation was a practice through which indigenous merchants around the Eastern Mediterranean acquired the legal status of a Genoese or Venetian. With such an acquired legal status, these indigenous merchants would benefit from fiscal and trading privileges originally granted by their own local rulers to merchants born in Genoa or Venice. Naturalisation in the Armenian kingdom in the thirteenth century has been demonstrated by Jacoby as a strategy, on the part of Venice, of *co-opting* local merchants to assist the visiting Venetian merchants in the latter's business operations.³²⁰ Regarding those concessions from the Armenian kingdom, they were Armenian institutional accommodations negotiated and agreed with the Western merchants. And I argue that these accommodations resulted from questions regarding the status and rights of the Western merchants in the kingdom.

An examination of the interactions of legal traditions in the case of Armenian Cilicia is long overdue. There are examples of competing legal traditions attracting the attention of modern historians. Rüdts-Collenberg has already pointed out the potential significance of different legal traditions in arguments over royal successions in the Armenian kingdom.³²¹ Der Nersessian also notes the solution of a legal dispute with advice emanating from another legal tradition: Kostandin, the kingdom's bailiff, sought advice from John of Ibelin regarding the legality of giving the castle of Curcus, which he himself received initially as a gift, to his younger son. Against the contestations by Kostandin's eldest son, Smbat the Constable, the legality of such a transfer is confirmed by John of Ibelin.³²² Oddly, the Armenian concessions to the

³²⁰ Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," 280-284.

³²¹ Rüdts-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, 27.

³²² Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 59.

Western merchants are still viewed only in the context of commercial relations,³²³ but not their institutional implications. I take a different approach, i.e., focusing on the institutional implications of these concessional texts. Seen in this light, they reflect developing interactions between the Armenians and the Western merchants whilst different legal traditions were approached and negotiated. In Chapter Three, I will examine measures taken by the Armenians, such as recognising customary practices and the administration of justice by the Western merchants. I will then compare them with those obtained by Venice and Genoa from elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean.

For such a comparative analysis, I here provide further justifications regarding my non-state-centred approach. As pointed out by W. Twining, the nation-state emerged in Europe roughly between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.³²⁴ The Armenian kingdom is better seen as a part of institutional developments pre-dating this emergence. Even though the political constellation known as the Armenian kingdom could be argued as contributing to the emergence of nation-states later, it is anachronistic to use the nation-state as a frame of reference for the Armenian and other comparable concessions obtained by the Genoese and Venetian merchants. One may question the feasibility of discussing law without the state, but such an epistemological enterprise has been convincingly attempted by M. Foucault³²⁵ and S. Roberts.³²⁶ In his critique of legal pluralism as a discipline from the 1970s onwards,³²⁷ Roberts evaluates three different approaches to talking ‘about law without talking

³²³ Rüdts-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, 9.

³²⁴ W. Twining, *General Jurisprudence: Understanding Law from a Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009), 364.

³²⁵ M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Volume I: *An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley (New York, NY: Vintage, 1990).

³²⁶ S. Roberts, “After government? On representing law without the state,” *The Modern Law Review* 68, no. 1 (2005): 1-24.

³²⁷ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 11.

about the state’:³²⁸ that of R. Sacco who advocates law as being without a lawgiver while emphasising the social origins of law before the end of the eighteenth century,³²⁹ that of C. Geertz,³³⁰ and that of L. Pospisil.³³¹

While Roberts recognises the ‘heterogeneity of the normative domain’,³³² he also opposes expanding the definition of law to include ‘radically different modes of ordering and decision’.³³³ Expanding law to include norms below and above the state, i.e., locally³³⁴ and globally,³³⁵ disregards actors involved and their perceptions of these norms.³³⁶ Instead, he proposes the term *negotiated order* to signify those norms more akin to local norms than to state law.³³⁷ For medieval societies such as the Armenian kingdom and Byzantine empire, ‘state law’ as a category includes legislation and canon laws. In contrast with legislation and canon laws, the concessions obtained by Western merchants were limited in scope of matters, specific to a social group and subject to change through diplomatic negotiations. By way of contrast, a twelfth-century Armenian legal compilation exhibits the opposite attributes to those of the concessions obtained by the Western merchants. Before the establishment of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia in 1198, there was an Armenian legal compilation akin to ‘state law’ discussed here: the *Datastanagirk*’ by Mxit’ar Goš in the twelfth century.³³⁸ This compilation was based on the canon laws of the Armenian church, which had a wider jurisdiction of administering affairs than the

³²⁸ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 5.

³²⁹ R. Sacco, “Mute Law,” *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 43, no. 3 (1995): 456.

³³⁰ C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1983).

³³¹ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 7-8.

³³² Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 12.

³³³ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 23.

³³⁴ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 16.

³³⁵ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 18.

³³⁶ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 12-13.

³³⁷ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 1.

³³⁸ Cf. footnote 208.

heads of the Armenian noble families.³³⁹ As this lawcode regulated various aspects of communal life of the Armenian population,³⁴⁰ it is a clear example of ‘state law’ being enforced by a centralised authority, the Armenian church.

Viewing these concessions as negotiated order is more appropriate for two reasons. First, such a term devised by Roberts includes norms that are not really state laws. Though devised in his critique of legal pluralism, its non-state significance renders the term more appropriate for historical contexts in which the states with centralised authority and enforceable political boundaries are not an applicable approach. Second, Roberts notes the consensual nature of agreement at the transnational level.³⁴¹ Thus, this term is particularly suitable for Armenian and other comparable concessions, i.e., produced after negotiations and developed over time. Therefore, the concept of negotiated order is both more easily detached from the state and more emphatic on the aspect of consensus or compromise. While Roberts strives to draw a line between law, legislated by the national governments and norms, from other sources that have a bearing on national legislation, I do not have any view on the legal or non-legal nature of the Armenian concessions. I adopt this concept of negotiated order to avoid the need to explore the nature of the state in the course of discussing the Armenian concessions. The relationship between such negotiated orders and the Armenian legislation is best viewed as one coming within the mechanisms of power, i.e., in the sphere of power relations, rather than the system of ‘Law-and-Sovereign’.³⁴² Such a further step to view law as part of the power mechanisms is proposed by Foucault for his discussion on discourses around sexuality regulated by the nation-states. These power relations encompass all those effects

³³⁹ Thomson, *The Lawcode [Datastanagirk'] of Mxit'ar Goš*, 11.

³⁴⁰ For a list of examples, cf. Thomson, *The Lawcode [Datastanagirk'] of Mxit'ar Goš*, 41-42.

³⁴¹ Roberts, “On representing law without the state,” 23.

³⁴² Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. I, 97.

emanating from the norms, including legislation and regulation issued by the national governments. Its wider coverage then is also suitable for contexts in which *sovereignty* is not necessarily an applicable concept for approaching medieval power relations. While I still use the term legal in my analysis in Chapter Three, I will use it interchangeably with the term negotiated order. In addition, this approach focusing on power relations also leads Foucault to view the effects of domination over body and desire as something strategical, not legal.³⁴³ As will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, the provisions in the concessions obtained by the Genoese and the Venetians are better understood as strategies of power mechanisms devised by the Armenians, rather than a question of law.

The irrelevance of the state altogether eliminates the conceptual difficulties of sovereignty. The inapplicability of sovereignty to the medieval Eastern Mediterranean as a concept does not result from it being a modern term, but from its meaning of supreme authority, which is less viable in discerning interactions between Armenian Cilicia and Crusader kingdoms than the concept of kinship.³⁴⁴ While the developing concept of sovereignty could be found in medieval texts, it has no direct bearing on diplomatic practices in the Middle Ages,³⁴⁵ which can be seen in the Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice. Instead, such practices were facilitated by anyone with sufficient power, i.e., *plena potestas*.³⁴⁶ Thus, there is no such anachronistic term as Cilician sovereignty³⁴⁷ in my thesis. Because I focus only on the effects and significance of these Armenian concessions to Western merchants, I do not focus on

³⁴³ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. I, 102.

³⁴⁴ A separate thesis is needed for providing a working definition of this term and determining to what extent the Armenian and Crusader kingdoms qualify for this designation.

³⁴⁵ D. E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), viii.

³⁴⁶ Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*, ix.

³⁴⁷ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 59.

the political ideology found in the Armenian writings during this period and the significance of court ceremonials.

With the concept of negotiated order and the distinction between state-idea and state-system as my conceptual bases, I will discuss different *modi operandi* found in the Armenian concessions to the Genoese and the Venetians. These different approaches in particular concern Western merchants' customary practices and their administration of justice within the kingdom. Such differences seem initially explicable by resorting to differences between Armeno-Genoese relations and Armeno-Venetian ones. However, concessions obtained by the Venetians from the principality of Antioch show that the Armenian concessions to the Venetians are distinct. This distinction is thus the point of departure for Chapter Three. Overall, I view the Armenian concessions as indicative of a system through which negotiated orders were recognised and monitored by parties in the negotiations. This then begs the question as to the reason for different negotiated orders being recognised by the Armenians for the Genoese and the Venetians, respectively. In order to assess the significance of these negotiated orders within the Armenian kingdom, I examine similar provisions in concessions obtained by the Genoese and the Venetians from the Byzantine empire, in addition to those from the principality of Antioch.

Focusing on the concessions obtained by these merchants from various Levantine rulers benefits from one advantage: Latin as the common language for the concessions against which different legal traditions are compared. Thus, I compared examples of negotiated orders in different political constellations: the Armenian kingdom, the Byzantine empire and the principality of Antioch. In the case of the Byzantine empire, there are also abundant textual sources for the ideas underpinning other negotiated orders within the empire, especially on the question of customary

practice and the administration of justice. Understandably, the power relations underpinning categories such as ecclesiastical canons, concessions and imperial legislation cannot be completely encapsulated by these terms. These textual sources nevertheless provide an access to better understand the significance of Byzantine concessions to Western merchants.

The target of my analyses for Chapter Three, then, is the Armenian concessions to the Western merchants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Though there are common features in all these concessions, these texts also reflect varying reactions to the presence and activities of the Western merchants in the kingdom. These varying reactions reflect the divergent needs of the Western merchants. Such non-uniformity of commercial interests among cities in Italy has been demonstrated by A. O. Citarella in the case of Amalfi and Venice.³⁴⁸ While the commercial interests of different cities might converge, my thesis focuses on one area in which they diverged: legal protections obtained from local rulers by a city for its own merchants. Of these cities, the interests of Genoa and Venice remained the most well-addressed by the Armenian kings.³⁴⁹ And the rights and privileges secured by each for their own merchants are different.³⁵⁰ In addition to this, both cities also obtained a series of concessions from the Armenians through these two centuries, thus affording a temporal breadth of parallels between these two series.

These two cities also offer contrasting developments of trading activities around the Mediterranean before coming into contact with the Armenian kingdom.

³⁴⁸ A. O. Citarella, "The relations of Amalfi with the Arab world before the Crusades," *Speculum* 42, no. 2 (1967): 303, 305 and 312.

³⁴⁹ V. Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie sous les rois de la dynastie Roupénienne, d'après les documents orientaux et occidentaux conservés dans les dépôts d'archives de l'Europe," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 7e série, vol. 3, no. 3 (1860): 16.

³⁵⁰ Abulafia, "The Levant trade of the minor cities," 185.

Their merchants' activities around the Eastern Mediterranean were, in part, supported by different developmental trajectories of political institutions at home.

The commune of Genoa was established towards the end of the twelfth century. The expansion of the Mediterranean trade and the onset of the Crusades coincided with the expansion of Genoese urban military elites at the expense of the rural nobility.³⁵¹ The commune of Genoa was granted the right to mint its coins by the emperor Conrad III (r. 1138-1152),³⁵² indicating the expanding economic activities by the Genoese. The urban military elites provided a mobilising network for the development of trading activities later.³⁵³ The earliest recorded appearance of a Genoese merchant in the Eastern Mediterranean region was around 1060.³⁵⁴

Venetian trading activities around the Eastern Mediterranean prior to the thirteenth century were on a different trajectory from those of Genoa. Efforts by the Byzantine emperor Leo V (r. 813-820) to prohibit Venetians from trading in Egypt and Syria³⁵⁵ indicate Venetian presence in the region in the early ninth century, though not much is known regarding the extent of these activities. Two separate developments sustained the Venetian trading activities around the Eastern Mediterranean: integration within the Byzantine economy and relations with the Fatimids.³⁵⁶ These two developments were preceded by the expanding Venetian

³⁵¹ Van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," 34.

³⁵² "..... Eorum igitur petitioni per concivem suum Obertum et fidelem nostrum ad presentiam nostram perlate benigne annuentes, ius monete quod ante non habuerant regia nostra auctoritate habendum in perpetuum concessimus....." D. Puncuh, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1996), 17. Citing an earlier edition by C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, van Doosselaere follows the content of the text and thinks it was a grant from Conrad II (r. 1027-1039), disregarding the dating of 1138 by both Imperiale di Sant'Angelo and Puncuh. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, ed., *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova dal DCCCCLVIII al MCLXIII*. Vol. 1 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1936), 106; van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," 37.

³⁵³ Van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," 38.

³⁵⁴ Van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," 49.

³⁵⁵ Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol 1, 3.

³⁵⁶ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 371.

control over the Adriatic region. A series of agreements between Venice and rulers to the north of the Alps and the expanding Venetian control over the Adriatic up to the tenth century ensured Venetian political and economic independence at the head of the Adriatic.³⁵⁷ Towards the twelfth century, Venice was integrated in the internal market of the Byzantine empire in trade, for instance: cheese from Crete,³⁵⁸ olive oil from Sparta,³⁵⁹ and silk textiles from Thebes.³⁶⁰ Venetian trade with the Fatimids continued after the latter transferred its political centre from Tunisia to newly-conquered Egypt in the mid-tenth century.³⁶¹ The importance of trade through Alexandria, in Egypt, increased as the Red Sea became a safer trade route than that through the Persian Gulf.³⁶² Trade with Egypt from the twelfth century onwards was particularly lucrative for Venetian merchants: selling war materials and slaves in Egypt while acquiring alum, flax, cotton, spices and silks for selling them in the West.³⁶³ In addition to Alexandria and Constantinople, Venetian trading activities were also recorded in Antioch in the eleventh century.³⁶⁴ Therefore, prior to the establishment of the Crusader kingdoms towards the end of the eleventh century, Venetian merchants had already been engaged in trade across the Eastern Mediterranean. Later, in the last decades of the thirteenth century, concessions from the Mamluks reduced transportation cost of sodium ashes from Egypt and Syria, when use of sodium ashes in glass-making became dominant in the Venetian lagoons.³⁶⁵ Egypt and Syria were also markets for woollen cloths from Venice in the fifteenth

³⁵⁷ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 373-374.

³⁵⁸ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 377-378.

³⁵⁹ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 378-379.

³⁶⁰ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 379-380.

³⁶¹ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 381.

³⁶² Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 381.

³⁶³ É. Crouzet-Pavan, *Les Villes Vivantes: Italie, XIIIe-XVe Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 221.

³⁶⁴ Jacoby, "Venetian commercial expansion," 384 and 388.

³⁶⁵ Crouzet-Pavan, *Les Villes Vivantes*, 249-250.

century, when the Venetian textile products were sold all over Europe.³⁶⁶ There was also a contrast between Venice and Genoa regarding the centres of their commercial operations in the fifteenth century. Venice secured its commercial supremacy in Cyprus, Egypt and Syria while Genoa further developed its commercial operations along the north African coast and with the Emirate of Granada.³⁶⁷

Before the twelfth century, trade was not carried out for profit maximisation and gift exchanges sustained the long-distance trade.³⁶⁸ Because of information asymmetry regarding faraway markets and limited contract enforceability by local legal authorities,³⁶⁹ two institutions developed to minimise the risk of cheating by the partners or agents travelling around the medieval Mediterranean. The first is the network of trust based on the reputation of a merchant within a social group, for instance in the case of Jewish merchants from Egypt, in the eleventh century. For this type of network, a merchant could be an agent for another merchant in the same network, thus reducing the incentive for cheating by an agent acting for other merchants. This disincentive was effective because reputational damage would result in the loss of future business for the said merchant.³⁷⁰ The second is the partnerships seen for merchants from Italy in the twelfth century. In this type of trade network, a family firm delegated trade activities to a travelling agent.³⁷¹ Both institutions, the

³⁶⁶ É. Crouzet-Pavan, *Le Moyen Âge de Venise: Des Eaux Salées au Miracle de Pierres* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2015), 578.

³⁶⁷ Crouzet-Pavan, *Les Villes Vivantes*, 220.

³⁶⁸ R. S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 2. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan, E. Miller and C. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 310; Van Doosselaere, "Genoa at the Dawn of the Commercial Expansion," 45.

³⁶⁹ A. Greif, "Reputation and coalitions in medieval trade: evidence on the Maghribi traders," *The Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989): 857.

³⁷⁰ Greif, "Reputation and coalitions in medieval trade," 864-868. For examples of business networks being sustained by kinship or ethnicity as opposed to reputation, cf. J. T. Landa, "A Theory of the Ethnically Homogeneous Middleman Group: An Institutional Alternative to Contract Law," *The Journal of Legal Studies* 10, no. 2 (1981): 349-362.

³⁷¹ Greif, "Reputation and coalitions in medieval trade," 873-874.

reputation network among the Jewish merchants and the family firms found in Italy, were based on cohesive and tight-knit social groups.

During the thirteenth century, however, legal mechanisms were being codified across the Mediterranean.³⁷² These emerging legal mechanisms regulating maritime activities indicate the need to approach the status and rights of merchants when the merchants were away from their home cities. For discerning their effectiveness, the Armenian concessions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries offer an example of regulating merchants' activities within the kingdom. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, Armenian concessions contain different approaches to the question of customary practices and the administration of justice, both of which were important for contract enforceability, for Genoa and Venice. Though there are records of transactions extant in the kingdom, it is unclear if such approaches affected the business models of Genoese and Venetian merchants in the kingdom. These records, in the form of notarial deeds, include those from the Genoese notaries Federico di Piazzalunga and Pietro di Bargone between 1274 and 1279 and those from the Venetian notary Felice de Merlis between 1316 and 1318.³⁷³ These notarial deeds from Ayacium, though informative on the circumstances of economic activities from the late thirteenth century onwards, are better suited for a quantitative approach while I intend to discern the institutional frameworks within which these transactions took place. Different approaches found in the Armenian concessions, however, are yet to be compared with similar provisions found in concessions from other Levantine rulers to Genoa and Venice. As a primary source for such institutional frameworks, the concessions granted by rulers around the Eastern Mediterranean to Genoa and Venice

³⁷² Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 415.

³⁷³ Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 123.

provide examples that indicate varying strategies of accommodating conflicting rights of Western merchants.

The contents of these Armenian concessions consist of three main categories: lands (and buildings) for business activities, reduction of or exemption from taxes and administrative and judicial self-government.³⁷⁴ As the Genoese and the Venetian merchants extended their business operations around the Eastern Mediterranean, the two cities sought to protect their merchants and business interests by negotiating with rulers around the Eastern Mediterranean. As results of these negotiations, the concessions as a whole demonstrate the interactions between different legal mechanisms regarding questions of status and rights of the merchants, the administration of the merchants' communities within the respective territory and the regulation of trans-communal relations between the merchants and the local people. The trajectories of these concessions over the course of time diverged considerably. This may reflect the changing political relations between the two cities and the rulers but may also be a reaction from Armenian institutions to the Genoese and Venetian merchants. It is this reaction that is the focus of my Chapter Three.

For the Armenian concessions to the Venetians and the Genoese during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the editions prepared by G. Canestrini³⁷⁵ and Langlois³⁷⁶ are partially superseded by that of D. Puncuh,³⁷⁷ E. Pallavicino,³⁷⁸ and A.

³⁷⁴ Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 123.

³⁷⁵ G. Canestrini, ed., "Documenti spettanti al commercio dei veneziani con de l'Armenia e Trebisonda, Ragusa e Negroponte (1201-1231)," *Archivio Storico Italiano* App. 29 (1853): 361-388.

³⁷⁶ V. Langlois, ed., *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie: Ou, Cartulaire de la Chancellerie Royale des Roupéniens: Comprenant tous les Documents Relatifs aux Établissements Fondés en Cilicie par les Ordres de Chevalerie Institués pendant les Croisades et par les Républiques Marchandes de l'Italie, etc.* (Venice: Typographie arménienne de Saint-Lazare, 1863).

³⁷⁷ D. Puncuh, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1996).

³⁷⁸ E. Pallavicino, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/7 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 2001).

Sopracasa.³⁷⁹ One limitation on these texts should be noted, however. As there is no record left from the Armenian royal chancery due to invasions and wars,³⁸⁰ there are only three extant Armenian texts of the concessions to Western merchants, found in archives around the Western Mediterranean: one from Lewon II (r. 1270-1289) to the Genoese in 1288,³⁸¹ one from Ōšin to the Montpelliérains in 1314,³⁸² and one from Lewon IV to the Sicilians in 1331.³⁸³ Without parallel Armenian texts for all the Armenian concessions, my analysis is only a preliminary attempt that relies on texts in Western languages. This is not a shortcoming, however, as my current thesis aims to articulate the Genoese and Venetian understanding of their treatment by different legal mechanisms in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries around the Eastern Mediterranean.

For those other concessions obtained by Venice, the edition by G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas is used for the principality of Antioch;³⁸⁴ the ones by M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani for the Byzantine empire.³⁸⁵ For those others obtained by Genoa, the edition by C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo is used for the principality of Antioch,³⁸⁶

³⁷⁹ A. Sopracasa, ed., *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia, 1201-1333* (Rome: Viella, 2001).

³⁸⁰ V. Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie sous les rois de la dynastie Roupénienne, d'après les documents orientaux et occidentaux conservés dans les dépôts d'archives de l'Europe," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 7e série, vol. 3, no. 3 (1860): 5.

³⁸¹ Archivio di Stato di Genova, ms. Arch. Segr. 2737 D, doc. J. Cited from Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 120. Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 154-158.

³⁸² Les Archives municipales de Montpellier, ms. A. 17, n° 337. Cited from Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 124. Though Langlois notes another concessional text in Armenian dated to 1321: ms. A. 17, n° 12. Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 185-186.

³⁸³ El Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli, ms. Arch. hist., caja 7, n° 27-R. Cited from Otten, "Les échanges commerciaux," 120-121.

³⁸⁴ G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig: Mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. 3 vols. (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856-1857). In the course of writing, I have had no access to: H. E. Mayer and J. Richard, eds., *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*. 4 vols. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010).

³⁸⁵ M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, eds., *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1993); M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, eds., *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1996).

³⁸⁶ C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, ed., *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova dal DCCCCLVIII al MCLXIII*. 3 vols. (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1936-1942).

and also that of F. Miklosich and I. Müller for the Byzantine empire.³⁸⁷ Similar agreements between these two cities and the Seljuks are not considered because their inclusion would unduly enlarge the scope of the current thesis. Neither are those Armenian concessions issued to the military orders, as their economic activities were subject to a different *raison d'être*. It should be noted here the complex role of the military orders in the economic development of the Armenian kingdom. These catholic military orders, mainly the Hospitallers and the Templars in the case of Cilicia, were initially set up to provide security to the pilgrims. However, Their capability of ensuring security and providing maritime transportation also led to concessions being made by the Armenian kings and Crusader rulers to guard against invasions. In addition to being granted fortresses, these military orders were also involved in local economic production activities connected with maritime trade.³⁸⁸ Every conceivable aspect regarding the military orders in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia has recently been examined comprehensively by M.-A. Chevalier.³⁸⁹ In particular, Chevalier analysed instances in which the military orders' activities had an impact on trade at Cilician ports.³⁹⁰ These instances identified and analysed by Chevalier are valuable for a future comparison with my findings because the portolan charts were not produced specifically for the military orders.

As my thesis examines the institutional accommodations made by the Armenians for the Genoese and Venetian merchants, the Armenian merchants, both inside and outside Armenian Cilicia, are excluded. Regarding the Armenian merchants, Otten believes that the sphere of their activities might be different from

³⁸⁷ F. Miklosich and I. Müller, eds., *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana Collecta*. Vol. 3 (Vienna: C. Gerold, 1865).

³⁸⁸ For such an example, cf. footnote 162 and the associated discussion in the text.

³⁸⁹ M.-A. Chevalier, *Les Ordres Religieux-militaires en Arménie Cilicienne: Templiers, Hospitaliers, Teutoniques & Arméniens à l'Époque des Croisades* (Paris: Geuthner, 2009).

³⁹⁰ Chevalier, *Les Ordres Religieux-militaires en Arménie Cilicienne*, 364-379.

those of the Western merchants.³⁹¹ After the Mamluk conquest of Armenian kingdom in the fourteenth century, there existed Armenian communities throughout Asia Minor and the Middle East,³⁹² in addition to Cilicia and Greater Armenia.³⁹³ Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, these Armenian communities became centres of modern Armenian identity formation,³⁹⁴ before the establishment of the Mkhitarist monastic order in Venice in the eighteenth century. the Mkhitarist monastic order laid the intellectual foundation for the modern Armenian ‘national awakening’.³⁹⁵

There are examples of Armenian merchants closer to Cilicia and time period, such as those merchants mentioned in the truce between Lewon II and Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn in 1285.³⁹⁶ The Armeno-Mamluk relations, however, were defined by other geopolitical factors in the region, such as the Mongol invasion of Syria in 1260. During the Mongol invasion, the Armenian king Het‘um I allied with the Mongols, unlike the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine. After the Mongols were defeated by the Mamluks at the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt in 1260, the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine sought to establish relations with the new Mamluk sultan Baybars.³⁹⁷ From the perspective of the Qalāwūn, ruling from 1279 to 1290, the Armenian kingdom with its mountain fortresses presented a strategic challenge, even after the kingdom was geographically isolated on land from other Crusader kingdoms during the time Baybars.³⁹⁸ It was within this context of isolation that the Armenian king Lewon II

³⁹¹ Otten, “Les échanges commerciaux,” 119, 124.

³⁹² For the documented localities of Armenian communities found in the colophons of the Armenian manuscripts, cf. footnote 195.

³⁹³ For the term ‘Greater Armenia’, cf. footnote 28.

³⁹⁴ This multilocal forging of Armenian nationalism and identity rooted in these mercantile communities is highlighted by R. Panossian in the absence of an Armenian state: Panossian, *The Armenians*, 76-101.

³⁹⁵ Panossian, *The Armenians*, 101-109.

³⁹⁶ P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260-1290: Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 92-105.

³⁹⁷ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260-1290*, 69.

³⁹⁸ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260-1290*, 21.

concluded a truce with Qalāwūn in 1285. In a systematic analysis of the Mamluk diplomatic practices, P. M. Holt highlights the pattern of ‘bilateral in form but unequal treaties in substance’.³⁹⁹

Because Armenian merchants’ trading activities in the Mamluk Sultanate should be considered within the Armeno-Mamluk diplomatic relations, including these Armenian merchants in my comparative analysis will unduly enlarge my focus on the Western merchants in the Armenian kingdom. While the Armenian merchants in the kingdom are not as well-documented in the textual sources as the Western merchants, there is a case for comparative analysis: my findings from Chapter Three will be a basis for comparative analysis of different legal requirements for trading activities faced by the Western and the Armenian merchants in the kingdom. Therefore, I have not included a discussion of the Armenian social hierarchies and organisations, including those for merchants and craftsmen.

1.6 Review of selected past research into maritime trading activities

There have been numerous research projects of maritime trading activities along a demarcated littoral region in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as that by C. Foss on the Lycian coast in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period,⁴⁰⁰ and even dedicated conference discussions.⁴⁰¹ Those research projects using medieval portolan

³⁹⁹ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260-1290*, 9.

⁴⁰⁰ C. Foss, “The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 1-52.

⁴⁰¹ F. Karagianni, ed., *Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea: Links to the Maritime Routes of the East. International Symposium Proceedings* (Thessaloniki: European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2013). Use of portolan charts, however, is not as systematic as that found in the Strymon Delta Project. For example, A. Minchev, “Ten less investigated late antique fortresses on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast (4th - early 7th century AD),” in *Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea: Links to the Maritime Routes of the East. International Symposium Proceedings*, ed. F. Karagianni (Thessaloniki: European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2013), 260; O. Radzykhovska, “Greek sources in the scholia of the “Periplus” of Arrian by Renaissance erudite I.G. Stuckius,” in *Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea: Links to*

charts and handbooks and concessional documents, in contrast, are not as numerous. To my knowledge, the most elaborate and systematic multi-period, multi-scalar and interdisciplinary research project remains that of the Strymon Delta Project. I will here briefly describe the methodologies and findings of that project before turning to research projects focusing on the region of Cilicia as a whole or its parts.

The Strymon delta is located in Macedonia in modern Greece. Its hinterland, the Serres Basin, was rich in products from agricultural activities and wetlands.⁴⁰² Because of the intermediary position of the Strymon delta between a hinterland with products to export and maritime traffic through the Aegean to Constantinople, there is archaeological evidence of redistribution and trading within the delta region, but this is only sparse for the period between the seventh and tenth centuries.⁴⁰³ During the tenth century, however, there is textual evidence of exportation activities administered by the Constantinopolitan patriarchal estates near the delta region and the monastery of the Lavra on Mount Athos.⁴⁰⁴ The documented appearance of Western merchants' activities in this delta region began with the concessions of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) and then with mentions found in the portolan handbooks from the thirteenth century onwards.⁴⁰⁵ By pointing out a different term used in fourteenth-century textual sources to mean anchoring location within the delta region, A. Dunn postulates that there was a separate anchoring facility elsewhere in the delta region, instead of walled Khrysoupolis in the southeast of the region.⁴⁰⁶ This

the Maritime Routes of the East. International Symposium Proceedings, ed. F. Karagianni (Thessaloniki: European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2013), 70.

⁴⁰² A. Dunn, "Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.): Commercial, Fiscal, and Manorial," in *Διεθνές συνέδριο Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία, Σέρρες 29 Σεπτεμβρίου-3 Οκτωβρίου 1993: πρακτικά*. Vol. 1 (Thessaloniki: Dēmos Serrōn, 1998), 339.

⁴⁰³ Dunn, "Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.)," 353.

⁴⁰⁴ Dunn, "Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.)," 349-350.

⁴⁰⁵ Dunn, "Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.)," 354.

⁴⁰⁶ Dunn, "Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.)," 342.

distinction was corroborated by the mentions of two separate anchoring locations in the portolan charts and handbooks from the fourteenth century onwards.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, the findings of the Strymon Delta Project are produced by archaeologists informed by textual sources from the medieval period.⁴⁰⁸ Despite a similar focus on the relative importance of coastal locations for maritime traffic,⁴⁰⁹ my research of Western trading activities in the region of Cilicia does not reach this level of integrating archaeological and textual evidence and lead to discoveries ‘on the ground’. In Chapter Four, I will discuss the limits and significance of my findings in Chapter Two, taking into account the integrated methodologies leading to new discoveries in the Strymon Delta Project.

For the region of Cilicia, there has already been some systematic approach by archaeologists to settlement patterns, e.g., that of R. E. Blanton on Western Rough Cilicia.⁴¹⁰ Blanton observes both this region’s limited agricultural productivity and the region’s estimated increasing population by the late Roman (AD 650) period.⁴¹¹ Because of this gap between increasing population and limited agricultural output, he concludes that Western Rough Cilicia, as a periphery, was being incorporated into the Roman economic system to sustain this growing population.⁴¹² This periphery concept is based on Wallerstein’s world-systems theory.⁴¹³

According to Wallerstein, the world-system consists of hegemons, which experience capital accumulation and peripheries, which experience outflows of capital. The capital becomes concentrated in hegemons because hegemons facilitate the

⁴⁰⁷ Dunn, “Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.),” 343-345.

⁴⁰⁸ Dunn, “Loci of Maritime Traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV-XVIIIcc.),” 357.

⁴⁰⁹ A. Dunn, “Byzantine and Ottoman Maritime Traffic in the Estuary of the Strymon: Between Environment, State, and Market,” in *Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. The Corfu Papers*, ed. J. Bintliff and H. Stöger (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 16.

⁴¹⁰ R. E. Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns of the Coast Lands of Western Rough Cilicia* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).

⁴¹¹ Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns*, 63.

⁴¹² Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns*, 60-70.

⁴¹³ Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns*, 2.

production of core-products, whose profitability is higher than other product productions in the peripheries and the surplus-values of products in the peripheries flow to the hegemons through exchanges.⁴¹⁴ Abu-Lughod and her approach of archipelagos of towns within subsystems of trade is also based on these concepts of periphery and hegemony.

Core-periphery relationship, the fundamental feature of world-systems theory, has been a useful concept for Blanton and Abu-Lughod when they analysed pre-modern economies. For Blanton, the growing population in Western Rough Cilicia could only be sustained by its economic integration into the Roman economic system of exchanges. Because Western Rough Cilicia was not at the centre of the Roman economic system, its peripheral status and its economic exchanges with the 'core' in the Roman economic system is best encapsulated by this core-periphery relationship. For Abu-Lughod, the trading activities during the medieval periods were underpinned by the economic exchanges between the towns and their rural hinterlands. Such economic exchanges embodied the core-periphery relationship proposed by Wallerstein. Thus, the concept of core-periphery has its merit for analyses of pre-modern economies.

This concept of core-periphery, however, is unsuitable for the purpose of interpreting my data for two related reasons. First, the dynamics sustaining the world-system are those of the endless capital accumulation. Monopolisation of a profitable product is the means to achieve it.⁴¹⁵ Since monopolies thrive in the stability created by hegemony,⁴¹⁶ hegemony is thereby a distinct feature of the world-systems. While there are records of traded goods in the kingdom, hence of their potential profitability,

⁴¹⁴ Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*, 28.

⁴¹⁵ Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis*, 54.

⁴¹⁶ Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis*, 58.

there are no records for their effects on the economic developments in the kingdom. Second, because the nature of the portolan charts reflects their use by seafarers, their centre is the Mediterranean, not any particular location or region. Thus, they do not indicate the ‘core’ of this system of traffic flow around the Mediterranean. The peripheral or central status of one place or the other is, in contrast, assigned by other primary textual sources. Thus, I am seeking to identify potential causes of relative importance attributed to some places along the medieval Cilician coast, without assuming the subsidiary status of all other coastal places in comparison with that of Ayacium which was the best-documented place in textual sources during this period.

Other apparently relevant approaches to hierarchy of places, location theory⁴¹⁷ and central place theory,⁴¹⁸ are also not directly applicable to my data from the portolan charts. While J. Koder demonstrates the difficulty of applying both theories to archaeological data and textual sources,⁴¹⁹ I nevertheless argue that it will be beneficial to understand the rationale for these theoretical constructions. For W. Christaller, who formulated central place theory, “traffic can only be economic, not genetic,”⁴²⁰ i.e., traffic flow is not unchanging, but depends on the cost of obtaining a good or service. Since these portolan charts and handbooks were produced for merchants and sailors, they indicate maritime traffic that was economic, not merely logistical. The central place theory, analysing the settlement patterns in southern Germany in the first half of the twentieth century, is constructed deductively.⁴²¹ It is then tested against the hierarchy of settlements by using number of telephone

⁴¹⁷ J. H. von Thünen, *Von Thünen's 'Isolated State': An English Edition*, trans. C. M. Wartenberg (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966).

⁴¹⁸ W. Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, trans. C. W. Baskin (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

⁴¹⁹ J. Koder, “Land use and settlement: theoretical approaches,” in *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems and Methodologies*, ed. J. F. Haldon (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 159-183.

⁴²⁰ Christaller, *Central Places*, 74, 104-107.

⁴²¹ Christaller, *Central Places*, 1-135.

connections to indicate the relative importance of these southern German settlements.⁴²² The contribution of central place theory to understanding the geography of settlement is its articulation of economic distance demarcating an area which a settlement serves. This concept is derived from the intermediary role of a town between its surroundings and outside commerce.⁴²³ Though this intermediary role also underpins Abu-Lughod's archipelago of towns, Christaller's theory focuses on the relationships between settlements within a region. This economic distance is not geographical distance but involves the costs of getting a product or service from a settlement.⁴²⁴ The centrality of a place is measured by the economic distance of the product or service in question. Differing levels of centrality for products and services thus assign relative importance to a settlement in a larger region, in turn resulting in a hierarchy of central places.⁴²⁵ The centrality of a place concerns its function as a market, rather than its geographical location.⁴²⁶ This focus on relative importance of a place in accordance with economic distance makes Christaller's approach more appropriate than Wallerstein's. Because the portolan charts' visualisations are defined by the Mediterranean coastlines, no 'core' is indicated on the charts. In contrast, the more important places as indicated in the portolan charts can be viewed as possessing 'centrality'. Because 'centrality' indicates a more extensive geographical reach of a place in providing goods and commodities, I will view those less important places in portolan charts as subsidiary to those more important places.⁴²⁷ This approach does not require statistical data, which do not exist, from the medieval period for traded goods and commodities. Defining central goods and services, Christaller enumerates

⁴²² Christaller, *Central Places*, 139-168.

⁴²³ Christaller, *Central Places*, 16.

⁴²⁴ Christaller, *Central Places*, 112-113.

⁴²⁵ Christaller, *Central Places*, 27-83.

⁴²⁶ Christaller, *Central Places*, 19-21.

⁴²⁷ For my method of interpretation based on this concept of centrality, cf. 2.2 and especially Figure 2-2.

social institutions that indicate the status of a central place, including bishoprics.⁴²⁸ Because of the presence of different religious communities in the Armenian kingdom and the kingdom's changing political control over different areas, I will not be able to resort to the presence of a bishopric as evidence for a place's centrality.

This hierarchy of importance, I argue, is a better basis for showing the flow of maritime traffic through the Cilician coast. For this reason, the portolan charts and handbooks are central to Chapter Two, in which the changing geographical distribution of merchants' activities in Cilicia is articulated before being corroborated with textual sources such as travels and histories. As this thesis aims to better analyse the geographical extent of merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast, the scope includes the coastline stretching from the modern province of Hatay westward, through those of Adana and Mersin, reaching the south-eastern corner of the Antalya province in modern Turkey, at a distance of about 670 kilometres. Inclusion of both Rough Cilicia and a part of Isauria is necessitated by data from the portolan charts, more of which will be presented in 2.2.

In the process of verifying data from the portolan charts and handbooks, I have been unable to benefit adequately from archaeological data collected in Cilicia. Two reasons, identified by Wilkinson, apply to my work on medieval Cilicia: there can be too little data or too much data.⁴²⁹ Because of the targets of archaeological surveys and excavations, material finds from medieval periods are invisible or only partly visible in the archaeological records. Prioritisation of sites also results in imbalanced evidence for different sites.⁴³⁰ In some cases, the medieval layers were disturbed on account of being closer to the surface. For sites in Cilicia, there have been myriad

⁴²⁸ Christaller, *Central Places*, 140-141.

⁴²⁹ Wilkinson, "Macro-scale Analysis of Material Culture in Their Landscapes," 647.

⁴³⁰ Varinlioğlu, "Living in a marginal environment," 287.

archaeological data generated with varying quality and accessibility for different periods, rendering it difficult to analyse the human activities in a region by amalgamating all these data. The only exception is the wide-ranging survey and classification of Cilician fortresses during the Armenian period produced by Edwards.⁴³¹ However, there is a limit on the value of his survey for my research. His identification criteria for Armenian fortifications pointed to the presence of such fortifications to the east of the Tece-Arsllanköy line, both modern locations in the Mersin province.⁴³² (For those fortresses in Rough Cilicia under discussion in Chapter Two, cf. Figure 1-3.) This geographical limit on distribution of Armenian fortifications in Cilicia in turn has led him to suggest that the area controlled by the Armenians during the reign of Lewon I was between the Göksu valley (in Rough Cilicia) and Bagras (a location overseeing traffic between Antioch and Plain Cilicia).⁴³³ On the question of Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia, such a demarcation is not justified, as will be shown in Chapter Two.

Further complicating the challenges, there has not been a theoretical approach to the region of Cilicia as a whole⁴³⁴ when observation data were initially collected. Data collected by J. T. Bent,⁴³⁵ H. Goldman,⁴³⁶ and M. V. Seton-Williams,⁴³⁷ laying the foundations for subsequent research on Cilicia, were not concerned with any interpretative model for the discovered data for the medieval periods. Though holistic

⁴³¹ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 53-54.

⁴³² Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 49-50.

⁴³³ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 7.

⁴³⁴ G. Salmeri and A. L. D'Agata, "Recent Publications on Cilicia: A Brief Overview," in *Cilicia Survey Project 2000-2010*, by G. Salmeri and A. L. D'Agata (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2011), ci.

⁴³⁵ J. T. Bent, "Recent discoveries in eastern Cilicia," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11 (1890): 231-235.

⁴³⁶ H. Goldman, "Preliminary expedition to Cilicia, 1934, and excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1935," *American Journal of Archaeology* 39, no. 4 (1935): 526-549.

⁴³⁷ M. V. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey," *Anatolian Studies* 4 (1954): 121-174.

landscape perspectives have been recently developed in survey archaeology,⁴³⁸ there is not yet any such attempt regarding the Cilician coast as a whole. With the approach of *historic landscape characterisation*,⁴³⁹ my analysis will provide a systematic evaluation of the the Cilician coastline as described by the medieval portolan charts and handbooks. This evaluation, in turn, will identify particular parts of the Cilician coast that were important to the Western merchants during the medieval period. These portolan charts and handbooks also provide indications of Western mercantile presence further inland in Cilicia.⁴⁴⁰ Such indications confirm close connections between terrestrial and maritime transportation routes in Cilicia, situated between central and eastern Anatolia, Cyprus and Syria. Local economic productions inland and maritime trading coming from the Mediterranean complemented each other. Evaluating the impact of one on the other requires a basis of comparison that can be found in the portolan charts and handbooks.

If the archaeological data are not promising for analysing the medieval Cilician economy, the primary textual sources present no less a challenge. The extant systematic textual sources for Cilician demographics in a quantitative form do not start until the Ottoman period. While J. Yakar resorts to the Ottoman sources on demographics as a comparison with the Kizzuwatna kingdom (2nd millennium BC),⁴⁴¹ the problems of justifying their use for my research compel me to seek other primary sources closer to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In any case, the area

⁴³⁸ Varinlioğlu, “Living in a marginal environment,” 287-288.

⁴³⁹ Cf. 2.6.2.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. 2.1.

⁴⁴¹ J. Yakar, “The Socio-Economic Organization of the Rural Sector in Kizzuwatna. An Archaeological Assessment,” in *La Cilicie: Espaces et Pouvoirs Locaux (2e Millénaire av. J.-C.-4e Siècle ap. J.-C.): Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale d’Istanbul, 2-5 Novembre 1999 = Kilikia: Mekânlar ve Yerel Güçler (M.Ö. 2. Binyıl-M.S. 4. Yüzyıl): Uluslararası Yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı Bildirileri, Istanbul, 2-5 Kasım 1999*, ed. É. Jean, A. M. Dinçol and S. Durugönül (Istanbul: Institut Français d’études Anatoliennes Georges Dumézil, 2001), 38-39.

and population do not precisely express ‘the importance of the town’.⁴⁴² The notarial deeds of the Western merchants in Cilicia, recording business transactions and disposition of properties, provide another form of quantifiable data. Interpreting these data, however, requires a different approach from that regarding portolan charts and handbooks. Because of the disparate nature of the textual sources and scarcity of relevant archaeological data, the academic bilingualism available to J. Bennet and D. Harlan, consisting of temporally overlapping archaeological surface survey data and historic administrative records on the island of Kythera in the Aegean,⁴⁴³ is not applicable to my research. However, by developing a suitable theoretical approach from those initially formulated for land settlements and port geography, my research will address the current absence of a region-wide theoretical approach to Western trading activities in the region between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.

1.7 Chronological coverage of primary sources selected for my thesis

While my thesis focuses on Western trading activities in medieval Armenian Cilicia, i.e., between 1198 and 1375, the chronological coverage of specified primary sources in Chapters Two and Three does not overlap completely with this period. In Table 1-1, I have listed the main primary sources related to medieval Armenian Cilicia. For Chapter Two, my selected portolan charts cover the period between 1313 and 1480 and the portolan handbooks cover the period between c. 1200 and 1321. For Chapter Three, I focus on Armenian concessions issued to Genoa and Venice between 1201 and 1333. In addition to those listed in Table 1-1, I will also include relevant

⁴⁴² Christaller, *Central Places*, 17-18.

⁴⁴³ J. Bennet and D. Harlan, “Academic Bilingualism: Combining textual and material data to understand the post-medieval Mediterranean,” in *Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean - Fact and Fiction - : Proceedings of the First International Conference on Byzantine and Ottoman Archaeology, Amsterdam, 21-23 October 2011*, ed. J. Vroom (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 17-46.

primary sources from earlier or later periods where they are relevant to my discussions. This partial overlap of different primary sources regarding their chronological coverage is unavoidable, as these two main types of sources, the portolan materials and the Armenian concessions, provide important historic information regarding long-distance trade facilitated by the Western merchants.

Table 1-1. List of main primary sources selected for my thesis

Chapter	Primary source	Dating
Two	Portolan charts	1313; 1320; 1321; 1339; 1375; 1380; 1401; 1409; 1413; 1422; 1447; 1462; 1466; 1467; 1471; 1480
	Portolan handbooks	c. 1200; 1279-1296; 1307-1321
Three	Armenian concessions to Genoa	1201; 1215; 1288; 1289
	Armenian concessions to Venice	1201; 1245; 1261; 1272; 1307; 1321; 1333

It should be noted here that a set of valuable primary sources are not included in my analysis: the itineraries of the mendicants' missions in Anatolia. Some of these mendicants, notably the Franciscans and the Dominicans, left valuable accounts about the socio-economic conditions of places they visited.⁴⁴⁴ After the orders' establishment in the thirteenth century, their recorded itineraries are a set of data that could be compared with the itineraries found in the merchant handbook such as that of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti written in the fourteenth century.⁴⁴⁵ My current analysis will first identify the areas of mercantile interest along the Cilician coastline and if such areas changed over time. Therefore, such a comparative analysis of itineraries overland is not included.

⁴⁴⁴ For the examples of William of Rubruck and Giovanni di Plano Carpini, both Franciscans, cf. 1.4.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. footnote 299.

1.8 Medieval Cilician economy: geography and institutions

In order to reconstruct the geographical and institutional dynamics sustaining or constraining Western merchants' activities in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Cilicia, inevitably a different range of primary sources will be employed, in addition to primary narrative textual sources. These two aspects, geographical and institutional, are crucial because the economic exchanges took place along routes influenced by the natural environment as well as the human environment.⁴⁴⁶ The former includes the topographical features along different routes while the latter includes the built environment and socio-political organisations along the routes. The merchants' activities were linked to developing legal institutions found in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. It is premature, however, to discern effects of merchants' activities on the society as a whole. I examine the ways in which the Genoese and Venetian merchants were accommodated by the Armenian institutions and other Levantine rulers. Despite limitations on the primary sources, such an approach is required due to both the lack of systematic primary sources from the thirteenth century (in the case of the portolan charts and handbooks) and the under-represented primary sources (in the case of legal provisions in the Armenian concessions) in work so far done by modern economic historians. This under-representation results from the non-state-centred nature of portolan charts and handbooks. In particular, any effort venturing into the first half of the thirteenth century faces two obstacles: the relative scarcity of primary sources and the limits of state-centred focus implicit in the methodological approaches to date. With a different methodological approach, I aim to interpret these underused primary sources in ascertaining the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in the

⁴⁴⁶ Wilkinson, "Macro-scale Analysis of Material Culture in Their Landscapes," 649.

medieval Cilician economy. With the concept of negotiated order, it is feasible to re-evaluate the impact of the Armenian concessions regarding the recognition of customary practices and the administration of justice. Such a re-evaluation also points to the ‘polymorphous techniques of power’.⁴⁴⁷ If viewed in the contexts of power relations, these Armenian concessions are then not merely favours bestowed by the Armenian kings or advantages secured by the two cities at the expense of the Armenians. This in turn permits comparison with similar provisions in concessions from elsewhere around the medieval Eastern Mediterranean. I agree with G. Salmeri and A. L. D’Agata that a synthetic history of the region does not result from amalgamating available archaeological data, but from establishing a hierarchisation of evidence and a narrative thread.⁴⁴⁸ In particular, establishing a hierarchy of evidence requires consideration of historical information found in the portolan charts and handbooks, not just based on such information’s usefulness for corroborating other primary textual sources. Though theoretical frameworks devised in Chapter Two for port developments are *post hoc* rationalisations of observations from the portolan charts,⁴⁴⁹ they nonetheless provide a common analytical foundation. For those provisions contained in the Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice, reasons for including them are not always clear. My analysis will, however, reveal the way in which the Genoese and Venetians sought to protect their own rights and status while in the Armenian kingdom.

The development of the medieval Cilician economy coincided with a formative period for Western mercantile practices and mass movements of Crusaders and pilgrims. The multifaceted nature of the primary sources employed may result in

⁴⁴⁷ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. I, 11.

⁴⁴⁸ Salmeri and D’Agata, “Recent Publications on Cilicia,” ci.

⁴⁴⁹ J. H. Bird, “Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports,” *Geography* 58, no. 2 (1973): 117.

conflicting interpretations based on different sources. Nonetheless, I will stake out more balanced analyses of the Western trading activities in Cilicia. Borrowing Wilkinson's words to describe the flow of material finds across Eurasia,⁴⁵⁰ my thesis articulates traces of the 'invisible flow' that was the maritime traffic through the Cilician coast. In lieu of modern customs records or systematic archaeological data from the medieval periods, focusing on the geographical and institutional aspects of the Cilician economy of exchange yields a more balanced interpretation of the primary sources and the Western merchants' activities during this period than what there is currently.

Although the Armenian concessional texts were rooted in the Armenian historical and legal traditions, they also reveal external influences on terminology and provide a wealth of examples showing their flexibility in allowing Western merchants to engage in trading in the kingdom. Instead of indicating 'clashes' between different legal practices,⁴⁵¹ these Armenian and other comparable concessions reflect the diversity of Western merchants' business practices and legal traditions prevalent around the Eastern Mediterranean. The in-depth analyses of mercantile practices considered within the kingdom's legal framework in Chapter Three are also my response to the need identified by Stewart on such a question.⁴⁵²

Amidst various kinds of primary sources, my secure anchor against changing methodological winds⁴⁵³ is the necessity of utilising extant primary sources by considering the limits on the historic information they can provide. This sense of groundedness, as used by S. D. Brookfield in the context of teaching practices, is

⁴⁵⁰ Wilkinson, "Macro-scale Analysis of Material Culture in Their Landscapes," 650-654.

⁴⁵¹ M. Fusaro et al., "Entrepreneurs at sea: Trading practices, legal opportunities and early modern globalization." *International Journal of Maritime History* 28, no. 4 (2016): 775.

⁴⁵² Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 191.

⁴⁵³ S. D. Brookfield, *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1995), 22-23.

essential for my approach to the medieval Cilician economy. Thus, my thesis is grounded in the disparate characteristics of source materials pertaining to the questions of Genoese and Venetian merchants' activities along the Cilician coast and the Armenian institutions' accommodation of them in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

2 Geography of Western trading activities in medieval Cilicia

Available textual sources only respond to the question: did the Western merchants engage in trading or economic activities at other locations in medieval Cilicia besides Ayacium? D. Jacoby has convincingly demonstrated his affirmative response.⁴⁵⁴ Such primary sources fall short when one asks: where, along the medieval Cilician coast, were the Western merchants more engaged in trading and economic activities? This question concerns the frequency of Western merchants' visits, for which the textual sources do not provide data. In Chapter One, I argued that the focus on events and individuals renders the textual narrative sources less amenable for such a question on frequency. In their stead, I identified portolan charts as a viable source of data for answering my question.⁴⁵⁵ Recognising the primacy of space seen in these two primary sources, I now turn to the portolan charts and handbooks to answer this question. While I will focus only on the portolan charts in this chapter, I will introduce the portolan charts and handbooks together in 2.1 because they were related historical phenomena. Analysing these charts shifts the focus from narrative and non-narrative sources revolving around non-merchant individuals to human activities related to sea traffic along the Mediterranean coast. It should be noted that there is a chronological gap between the primary sources analysed here: portolan charts' data began in 1311, but the Armenian kingdom existed between 1198 and 1375.⁴⁵⁶ The trend observed in portolan charts then does not apply to the initial period of the medieval Armenian kingdom. However, data from the portolan charts show more Cilician places becoming important in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁵⁷ This trend emphasises the continuation of Western trading activities in

⁴⁵⁴ D. Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia: Some Neglected and Overlooked Aspects," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens XIIIe-XVe Siècle*, ed. C. Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 261-291.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. 1.4.

⁴⁵⁶ For a list of primary sources for my analysis and their chronological coverage, cf. 1.7.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

the region even after the demise of the Armenian kingdom. This is a significant finding because portolan charts' data are currently the only evidence clearly illuminating such trading activities in the region before the Ottoman period.

In Chapter Two, I will show the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia. To do that, I first lay out the usefulness and limitations of the portolan charts as a primary source. I then describe those portolan charts selected for my analysis. From these selected portolan charts, I will tabulate data regarding appearance of place-names along the Cilician coast and put forward preliminary observations. To interpret my observations from these medieval portolan charts, I will examine the applicability of various theories on settlement patterns. Because of inadequate or non-existent archaeological data from this period, I will show the limitations on applying these theories to my data. Since systematic data regarding medieval Cilician coastal places are not only found in the medieval portolan charts, I discuss historical records for two more geospatial organisations of places in medieval Cilicia: a coronation witness list from 1198 in 2.7 and medieval portolan handbooks in 2.8. Based on these evaluations, I will propose several analytical observations regarding the potential causes for a place's importance. Thus, I put forward a more balanced examination of Western merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast. As will be shown in my conclusion in 2.9, Western merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast were more widespread and diffused than what is seen in textual sources focusing on Ayacium. This tentative conclusion, in turn, provides an informed basis for future region-wide archaeological data-collection. Regarding the changing importance of some places during the period examined, however, my analysis does not provide a conclusive explanation for its causes.

2.1 Portolan charts: a brief introduction

In this chapter, the term, ‘portolan chart’ signifies visualisations that provide illustrations of coastal outlines of and directions for places around the Mediterranean; ‘portolan handbook’, on the other hand, denotes the sailing instructions for navigating along the Mediterranean coastlines. These definitions may not be acceptable to all those historians utilising these primary sources, e.g., Jacoby who believes ‘portolan charts’ to be a mistaken term.⁴⁵⁸ Nevertheless, I follow the usage established by T. Campbell,⁴⁵⁹ calling these medieval maps ‘portolan charts’. These maps and the sailing instructions are thought to be related.⁴⁶⁰ P. Gautier Dalché points to the similar nature and usage of these two sources,⁴⁶¹ and argues that the portolan handbooks were the results of knowledge accumulation and the development of techniques in producing these instructions.⁴⁶² However, they remain distinct from each other.⁴⁶³ For these textual instructions, i.e., portolan handbooks, topographical features around places, directions and distances are the three main components. In contrast, the portolan charts visualise the sequence of place-names along the Mediterranean coast,

⁴⁵⁸ D. Jacoby, “An Unpublished Medieval Portolan of the Mediterranean in Minneapolis,” in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. R. Gertwagen and E. Jeffreys (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 65. For other disagreement, cf. P. Gautier Dalché, “Cartes maritimes, représentations du littoral et perception de l’espace au Moyen Âge: un état de la question,” in *Castrum 7: Zones Côtières Littorales dans le Monde Méditerranéen au Moyen Âge*, ed. J.-M. Martin (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2001), 9-32; cited from: R. J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes: La Representació Medieval d’una Mar Solcada* (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2007), 414.

⁴⁵⁹ T. Campbell, “Census of pre-sixteenth-century portolan charts,” *Imago Mundi* 38 (1986): 67-94. T. Campbell, “Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500,” in *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 375.

⁴⁶⁰ For a detailed discussion of terminology used in Western medieval archival sources, cf. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 439-443.

⁴⁶¹ P. Gautier Dalché, “Portulans and the Byzantine world,” in *Travel in the Byzantine World: Papers from the Thirty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2002), 59.

⁴⁶² Gautier Dalché, “Portulans and the Byzantine world,” 64-67.

⁴⁶³ T. Campbell, “Innovative Portolan Chart Names (an extended essay),” accessed 30 April 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ToponymyInnovations.html>, ‘Portolani and printed charts’.

signify the importance of a place-name with the red colour and highlight the hazards for coastal sailing.⁴⁶⁴

The portolan charts are one of the four inter-related historical traditions of visualising the world in the course of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The other three are *mappa mundi*, *isolario* ('island book'; plural *isolarii*) and the Ptolemaic maps. The Ptolemaic maps were based on the work of Claudius Ptolemy (c.90-168) in Antiquity,⁴⁶⁵ and remained authoritative up to the fifteenth century.⁴⁶⁶ *Mappae mundi* are theological visualisations, the biggest of which is the *Ebstorf Map* (358×356cm) from the mid-thirteenth century.⁴⁶⁷ They are the 'the cosmographies of thinking landmen'.⁴⁶⁸ Portolan charts and *isolarii* are visualisations based possibly on experiences and observations by sailors. The earliest known *isolario* is that by Cristoforo Buondelmonti from about 1420, which draws on many sources including portolan charts.⁴⁶⁹ In contrast, portolan charts provide visualisation of the Mediterranean coasts and coastal locations. There are other depictions of parts of the Mediterranean, e.g., those from Matthew Paris' (c. 1200-1259) illustration of a pilgrimage route to Jerusalem from London,⁴⁷⁰ probably produced around 1250.⁴⁷¹ Since Matthew Paris travelled outside England only once and not to the east beyond Paris,⁴⁷² his depictions and descriptions of the travel routes were probably derived from others who did.⁴⁷³ For D. K. Connolly, such depictions resulted from a sacred geography consisting of history and

⁴⁶⁴ My analysis will focus on the sequence of place-names and the colour of these place-names. The highlighted hazards include shoals symbolised by black dots in Figure 2-15 around the island of Cyprus, for example.

⁴⁶⁵ O. A. W. Dilke, "The Culmination of Greek Cartography in Ptolemy," in *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 177.

⁴⁶⁶ J. B. Harley, "The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography," in *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 7.

⁴⁶⁷ M. Mollat du Jourdin and M. de La Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers: 13th to 17th century*, trans. L. le R. Dethan (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 9.

⁴⁶⁸ Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 372.

⁴⁶⁹ P. D. A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 482-484.

⁴⁷⁰ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, CCCC ms 26, f. Ir^o -f. IVr^o

⁴⁷¹ D. K. Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage in the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (1999): 598.

⁴⁷² Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage," 607-608, 620 endnote 26.

⁴⁷³ Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage," 605.

theology.⁴⁷⁴ Not only does the linear format of route depictions seem unique in medieval cartography,⁴⁷⁵ but also the change of language from vernacular Old French to Latin in the depictions of the Holy Land and Jerusalem⁴⁷⁶ emphasises the theological underpinnings of Matthew Paris' depictions. The design of the linear route depictions and the folding flaps also facilitate the interaction between viewers and the depiction of routes to engender an imagined pilgrimage.⁴⁷⁷ In addition to the theological underpinnings, such route depictions are also parts of a traveller's 'narrative'.

The portolan charts are different from Matthew Paris' illustration on these two points: they are potentially based on experiential data from an accumulative process, and they are not identifiable with any individual as source of these data. Moreover, the portolan charts are distinct from their cartographic predecessors because of their 'realism' in representing the perimeter of the Mediterranean littoral.⁴⁷⁸ On its own, a portolan chart is not in the form of a 'narrative', but of a depicted space defined by the Mediterranean coastlines. These features of anonymity and being realistically space-centred distinguish these portolan charts from both the *mappae mundi* and illustrations found in travellers' accounts.

The origins, accuracy and content-transmissions of the portolan charts have each been invoked for the discussion of the others. Past discussions on portolan charts consist of identifying components to determine their provenance or authorship. Some, e.g., M. Mollat du Jourdin and M. de La Roncière, believe that the portolan charts were produced from observations made by sailors.⁴⁷⁹ Others are sceptical about this conclusion. Comparing five

⁴⁷⁴ Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage," 606.

⁴⁷⁵ Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage," 601.

⁴⁷⁶ Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage," 600.

⁴⁷⁷ For example, Connolly, "Imagined pilgrimage," 606-607.

⁴⁷⁸ Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 411.

⁴⁷⁹ Mollat du Jourdin and de La Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers*, 8, 15.

selected portolan charts⁴⁸⁰ with modern maps, R. Nicolai concludes that the room for error was so small that it was not possible for the portolan charts to have been produced based on plane-charting.⁴⁸¹ He also points out that use of the compass did not occur early enough to contribute to the observed accuracy.⁴⁸² While the coastlines are more or less accurate, the details regarding the coastal locations are sometimes erroneous and Nicolai discounts the possibility of accumulating a large amount of data on locations before the production of such portolan charts.⁴⁸³ If, as is posited by Nicolai, depiction of the coastlines in the Eastern Mediterranean is quite accurate,⁴⁸⁴ there are still obvious discrepancies among these portolan charts as to the relative position of Cyprus to the Cilician coast. For example, in Figure 2-10, the westernmost tip of the island of Cyprus is further to the south-west of Antiozeta (near Güney Köy in the Antalya province) than on other selected portolan charts.

Aside from Nicolai's conclusion, there is textual evidence that sailors and merchants were a source of information for the workshops around the Western Mediterranean. In his portolan chart dated 1403, Francesco Beccari mentioned reports from shipowners and skippers as the reason for him to make various adjustments.⁴⁸⁵ Despite this textual evidence, the transmission of place-names from various Mediterranean regions to the workshops is not straightforward. Campbell has examined the place-names that appeared in the portolan charts after the earliest dated portolan chart by P. Vesconte in 1311 and the workshops where these names appeared.⁴⁸⁶ While the initial transmission for a new toponym might have been mainly facilitated by sailors, as indicated by Francesco Beccari's statement, the dissemination and

⁴⁸⁰ R. Nicolai, "The Premedieval Origin of Portolan Charts: New Geodetic Evidence," *Isis* 106, no. 3 (2015): 527 Table 1.

⁴⁸¹ Nicolai, "The Premedieval Origin of Portolan Charts," 531-536.

⁴⁸² Nicolai, "The Premedieval Origin of Portolan Charts," 538-541.

⁴⁸³ Nicolai, "The Premedieval Origin of Portolan Charts," 520-521.

⁴⁸⁴ Nicolai, "The Premedieval Origin of Portolan Charts," 528 Figure 4.

⁴⁸⁵ This charts can be found at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library with call number 'Art Storage 1980 158'. For this untranslated note, cf. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 461. For its translation into English, cf. Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 427-428.

⁴⁸⁶ Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'Toponymic Transmission before 1311' and 'Toponymic Transmission after 1313'.

variation of toponyms in subsequent portolan charts seem ‘informal, random and dependent on numerous chance factors’.⁴⁸⁷ Campbell has concluded that the appearance of names in portolan charts does not seem to reflect the patterns of voyages or establishment of overseas trading posts by merchants from a particular city.⁴⁸⁸ The transmission of place-names from works of one chart-maker to another was also erratic, probably involving multiple lineages.⁴⁸⁹

Despite this uncertainty over the routes of transmission, the nature of realistic presentations of the Mediterranean coastlines is not in dispute. It is the level of accuracy of coastline depictions found in these charts that is problematic for such an ongoing discussion. Despite some questions over the causes of accuracy seen in the portolan charts, Campbell views them as ‘a living record of Mediterranean self-knowledge, undergoing constant modification’.⁴⁹⁰ As Mollat du Jourdin and de La Roncière point out, there is a dual aspect of cartography: calculation and image.⁴⁹¹ Since there is no question that the portolan charts were purportedly realistic and accurate, in contrast to *mappae mundi* and *isolarii*, the Cilician coast and the place-names as presented in these ‘images’ are relevant to analysing the changing importance of places along the medieval Cilician coast.

Instead of conducting an exhaustive analysis of all known portolan charts, I focus on sixteen of them. (Cf. Table 2-1.) These selected portolan charts form a continuous chronological sequence and only those that could be dated earlier than 1500 are included in the present analysis. According to Campbell, those prior to 1500 ostensibly reflect changes to place-names or the emergence of new places.⁴⁹² He also thinks that the inclusion of the Cape

⁴⁸⁷ T. Campbell, “A Detailed Reassessment of the Carte Pisane: A Late and Inferior Copy, or the Lone Survivor from the Portolan Charts’ Formative Period?” accessed 11 January 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/CartePisaneTEXT.html>, ‘G.3. The Mechanisms for the Staged Introduction and Repetition of New Names’.

⁴⁸⁸ Campbell, “Innovative Portolan Chart Names,” ‘Summary’.

⁴⁸⁹ Campbell, “Innovative Portolan Chart Names,” ‘Introduction’ and ‘Toponymic Transmission after 1313’.

⁴⁹⁰ Campbell, “Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500,” 373.

⁴⁹¹ Mollat du Jourdin and de La Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers*, 23

⁴⁹² Campbell, “Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts,” 67. For an example of continuous appearance of abandoned settlements in the portolan charts after 1500, cf. A. Dunn, “Byzantine and Ottoman Maritime

of Good Hope and a latitudinal scale render those after 1500 a separate category.⁴⁹³ Thus, I have adopted 1500 as the end date for selecting portolan charts.⁴⁹⁴ For some portolan charts, precise dating could at best be attempted. For others, signature and dating provided by the producer solve the problem, such as that found in the postscript on a portolan chart with the signature of Jehuda ben Zara and the year of 1497.⁴⁹⁵ (Cf. Figure 2-1.)

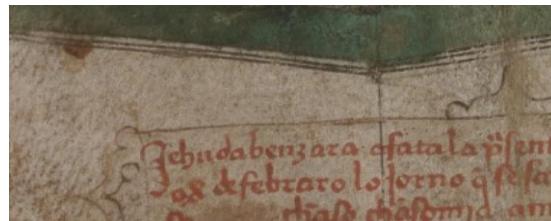


Figure 2-1. Jehuda ben Zara's postscript dated 1497⁴⁹⁶

These portolan charts are here arranged in chronological order. I have not included the *Carte Pisane*,⁴⁹⁷ currently thought to be the earliest known portolan chart. Despite the scepticism of P. Gautier Dalché,⁴⁹⁸ the latter half of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century date proposed by A. E. Nordenskiöld⁴⁹⁹ regarding its production has persisted. In his wide-ranging survey of medieval portolan charts, Campbell dates it to the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰⁰ Pujades i Bataller challenged this dating recently on several grounds.⁵⁰¹ In response, Campbell makes a strong case for *Carte Pisane*'s early dating. Beside the

Traffic in the Estuary of the Strymon: Between Environment, State, and Market," in *Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. The Corfu Papers*, ed. J. Bintliff and H. Stöger (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 23.

⁴⁹³ Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 371.

⁴⁹⁴ For more discussion on the relevance of 1500 to the study of various other aspects of historic cartography, cf. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 412.

⁴⁹⁵ Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 436.

⁴⁹⁶ Vatican, BAV, ms. Borg.Carte.naut.VII, f. 1r°.

⁴⁹⁷ Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. B1118. 'C1' in Pujades i Bataller's DVD.

⁴⁹⁸ Gautier Dalché, "Cartes maritimes, représentations du littoral et perception de l'espace au Moyen Âge," 11-12.

⁴⁹⁹ A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-directions*, trans. F. A. Bather (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1897), 56.

⁵⁰⁰ Campbell, "Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts," 72 no. 14.

⁵⁰¹ R. J. Pujades i Bataller, "The Pisana Chart. Really a primitive portolan chart made in the 13th Century?" *Comité Français de Cartographie* 216 (2013): 17-32.

comprehensive toponymic analysis, Campbell singles out the hydrography of the British Isles, not discussed by Pujades i Bataller, as the most compelling evidence for the early dating of *Carte Pisane*.⁵⁰² The arguments for early dating of *Carte Pisane* are further strengthened by the carbon-14 dating of the vellum to between 1169 and 1270.⁵⁰³ Despite the strong evidence for *Carte Pisane*'s early dating, I excluded it because of its potential outlier status, as will be shown in 2.2.1 below, in the trend observed from all the other selected portolan charts.

Though there are physical features that could be observed in those listed in Table 2-1, these could be ambiguous indicators for their actual usage at times. Traces of divider usage on the charts, Campbell observes, could disappear if the vellum is slightly damp.⁵⁰⁴ There are portolan charts of an irregular shape or repaired and fitted into a rectangular piece of vellum. Some others are part of a folio in a quire. Moreover, there is a further difference between two types of portolan charts: those produced as collectibles or those for actual use. Campbell emphasises the imbalance of extant examples for these two types, because the portolan charts as art objects were more likely to have survived than those subjected to actual use on the sea.⁵⁰⁵ Nonetheless, he contends that “there are no differences of hydrographic or toponymic content between the two types”.⁵⁰⁶ Because there is no obvious difference in hydrographical or toponymical contents between these two types, the perceived degree of damage or the sophistication of illustration is thus not a criterion for me to include or exclude a particular portolan chart. For example, I did not exclude richly illustrated portolan charts such as that shown in Figure 2-8 just because the likelihood of their actual usage for sailing is low.

⁵⁰² Campbell, “A Detailed Reassessment of the *Carte Pisane*,” ‘Abstract’ and ‘E.2. British Isles’.

⁵⁰³ Campbell, “A Detailed Reassessment of the *Carte Pisane*,” ‘Note’. This note was inserted before the ‘Abstract’ on the webpage on 4 January 2018.

⁵⁰⁴ Campbell, “Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500,” 443-444.

⁵⁰⁵ Campbell, “Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500,” 436.

⁵⁰⁶ Campbell, “Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500,” 440.

Illustration of inland regions has also been viewed as a defining feature distinguishing Catalan portolan charts from those produced at cities in Italy.⁵⁰⁷

Toponymic analysis has been used by Campbell to discern the transmission of place-names, regarding dating and origins. By identifying shared place-names, his results show distinct patterns of transmissions after the 1350s between the Catalan and the Italian portolan charts.⁵⁰⁸ Campbell's discovery is a successful challenge to Nordenskiöld's belief in the conservatism of the portolan charts.⁵⁰⁹ Nordenskiöld held that all portolan charts from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century were "only slightly altered and emended 'codices' of the same original", which he called 'normal-portolano'.⁵¹⁰

The toponymic development for medieval Cilicia is different from those of other regions such as Euboea⁵¹¹ and the Western Mediterranean region. Cilician coastal place-names have been consistently present on the portolan charts throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:⁵¹² there are between 50 and 60 toponyms between Antiozeta and Licia (Latakia in Syria) in the medieval portolan charts.⁵¹³ Coincidentally, the number of disappearing names and the number of new names in the portolan charts is the lowest for the region of southern Turkish coast and the Eastern Mediterranean before 1500, amongst all the

⁵⁰⁷ Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 393-394.

⁵⁰⁸ Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 415-428. For more recent toponymic analyses also completed by Campbell, cf. 1.4.

⁵⁰⁹ For a more recent analysis by Campbell, cf. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'Introduction'. The rest of this online article provides an overview of new names found on the portolan charts after their first appearance at the beginning of the fourteenth century up to 1500.

⁵¹⁰ Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 45.

⁵¹¹ This observation was made by A. Blackler, a doctoral researcher at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham. The place of origin of fourteenth-century portolan charts affected the presence or absence of certain place-names in the case of Euboea. Blackler Pers. comm. 1 December 2015.

⁵¹² In arguing against placing emphasis only on a place-name's presence or absence on the portolan charts, Campbell highlights the importance of 'local evidence'. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'Summary'. As will be shown in the rest of Chapter Two, the currently available 'local evidence' in archaeology is insufficient for the case of medieval Cilicia.

⁵¹³ T. Campbell, "Portolan Chart Toponymy," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanChartToponymyFullTableREVISED.xls>, no. 1452 through to no. 1493.

sections of the Mediterranean coast.⁵¹⁴ Campbell's comprehensive toponymic survey of red names has demonstrated that the toponymic development along the Eastern Mediterranean coast is the most static overall in introducing red names.⁵¹⁵ Campbell divided the coastline covered by medieval portolan charts into 31 sections and found that the ratio between the 'foundation names'⁵¹⁶ and red names that were added later is 1 for the region including Cilicia, higher only than 3 other sections.⁵¹⁷ Campbell also highlighted the relevance of place of origin to the incidences of red names on portolan charts, with colour coding in his comprehensive toponymic list.⁵¹⁸

The question regarding these coastal places then is not their presence or absence in medieval Cilicia, but their relative importance which is indicated by their colour. The colour red is defined as a 'functional colour' by P. D. A. Harvey, signifying a place-name's importance.⁵¹⁹ This observation echoes that made by Nordenskiöld: its suitability for a port of call, provisioning or fresh water, but not its size.⁵²⁰ In a first systematic survey of red names

⁵¹⁴ T. Campbell, "Abandoned Names (Charts and Tables for the Seven Main Regions)," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ToponymyDisappearancesSevenRegions.doc>, 'Figure 2. The disappearance of names from the seven regions over the five periods'; T. Campbell, "Innovative Names (Charts and Tables for the Seven Main Regions)," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ToponymyInnovationsSevenRegions.doc>, 'Figure 2. The addition of new, recurring names to the seven regions over five periods'.

⁵¹⁵ Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'Areas of Greatest Innovation'; T. Campbell, "Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1311-1677). A Detailed Investigation. Commentary on the Analysis," accessed 30 April 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesCommentary.html>, 'Statistical Analysis. Regions and People Involved'. For overall toponymic development in portolan charts up to 1500, cf. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'General'.

⁵¹⁶ In his toponymic survey, Campbell defined 'foundation names' as those found in the works of Vesconte between 1311 and 1313. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'Summary'.

⁵¹⁷ The medieval Cilician coastline between Antiozeta (near Güney Köy in the Antalya province) and Licia (Latakia in Syria) is covered by areas no. 25 and no. 26 in Campbell's 31 sections: T. Campbell, "The Addition of Red Names to the 31 Sections of Coastline," accessed 5 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesInnovations31Sections.doc>, 'Table 3. The totals of RED names found in 31 designated coastal sections over five periods'. This table also shows that the addition of red names to the coastline to the west of Alexandretta (area no. 25) is evenly spread in time: 2 new red names for the fourteenth century, 2 for the first half of the fifteenth century and 2 for the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁵¹⁸ Campbell, "Portolan Chart Toponymy," column F.

⁵¹⁹ P. D. A. Harvey, "Colour in Medieval Maps," in *Signs and Symbols: Proceedings of the 2006 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. J. Cherry and A. Payne (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), 47-78.

⁵²⁰ Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 18.

in more than 135 portolan charts between 1311 and 1677,⁵²¹ Campbell discovered that the colour red is not indicative of a place's commercial developments over time when compared with known Western trading-posts around the Mediterranean.⁵²² Writing a place-name in red, however, is usually an intentional choice of chartmakers.⁵²³ It should be noted, however, that this survey of Western trading-posts only includes Ayacium for the region of Cilicia.⁵²⁴ As will be shown below, the currently available archaeological and textual sources does not allow me to determine if commercial developments caused some other Cilician place-names to become red later. In the same systematic survey, Campbell has also concluded that up to 90% of those red place-names were settlements, the rest being natural features.⁵²⁵

This distinction in colour for place-names on the portolan charts has also been utilised by M. Kahyaoğlu regarding thirteenth-century Western Anatolia,⁵²⁶ though he notes the discrepancies between these portolan charts and the extant notarial documents.⁵²⁷ Instead of resorting to textual sources to verify the importance of a place, I will first compile the colour

⁵²¹ Campbell, "Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1311-1677)," 'Introduction' and 'Methodology'; T. Campbell, "Red Names - Basic Statistics," accessed 4 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesStatistics.doc>. Based on his comprehensive toponymic survey of the Mediterranean, Campbell produced summary tables regarding the presence of red names in the portolan charts over three periods: up to 1400, 1400-1450 and post-1450: T. Campbell, "Presence of Red Names on the Portolan Charts (up to 1400)," accessed 5 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesAnalysisTo1400.doc>; T. Campbell, "Presence of Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1400-50)," accessed 7 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesAnalysisUpTo1450.doc>; T. Campbell, "Presence of Red Names on the Portolan Charts (post-1450)," accessed 7 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesAnalysis1450Onwards.doc>. For interpreting these three tables, there is a separate list of notes and a separate summary table: T. Campbell, "Explanation and Footnotes to the Three 'Red Names Analysis' Listings," accessed 7 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesExplanation&Footnotes.html>; T. Campbell, "Summary Table of Red Names. Their Appearance, Frequency and Disappearance," accessed 4 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesSummaryTable.doc>.

⁵²² There are cases of places being in red before these places became Western trading-posts, as well as delayed responses in portolan chart representation for places that were no longer important. Campbell, "Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1311-1677)," 'Red names of overseas trading-posts'.

⁵²³ Campbell, "Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1311-1677)," 'Drafting Conventions'.

⁵²⁴ Under the entry for Yumurtalik: T. Campbell, "List of Colonies and Trading Posts," accessed 4 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ColoniesTradingPostsTable.doc>.

⁵²⁵ Campbell, "Red Names on the Portolan Charts (1311-1677)," 'The meaning of rubrication'.

⁵²⁶ M. Kahyaoğlu, "Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor towards the End of the Byzantine Empire," in *Trade in Byzantium: Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. P. Magdalino and N. Necipoğlu (Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırma Müzesi, 2016), 267, 269.

⁵²⁷ Kahyaoğlu, "Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor," 276.

of every recorded place along the medieval Cilician coast and their colour-changes over time. I will then explore the implications and potential causes for these colour-changes. For this purpose, the present analysis will conduct toponymic collation to reveal changes in the relative importance of places along the Cilician coast. As observed by Campbell, place-names on portolan charts are placed at a right angle along the coast while some of them are not necessarily a port.⁵²⁸ These place-names, be it a settlement, a port or a fortress, signify the interests of the chart-makers and, by implication, their importance.⁵²⁹ It is worth noting, however, that place-names further inland are also included in the portolan charts: Malmistra, Adana and Tarsus. The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century coastline was not as far away from these three locations as it is today due to the accumulation of alluvia, but the portolan charts' depictions supply a more compelling reason for these three locations' inclusion: the connection through navigable rivers. Such connections can be seen clearly in Figure 2-16 and Figure 2-17 below. While these three locations were connected to the coastal maritime traffic through rivers, these three rivers were different. Tarsus could be reached with a short distance through the river from a semi-circular bay area. This semi-circular area later turned into marshes in the pre-modern times. Adana was connected with a short distance through the river from the coastline. The name of Malmistra, in contrast, is accompanied by the depiction of a longer stretch of waterway. The longer stretch of waterway indicates that longer stretch of the Pyramus river was navigable during this period. These examples of inland locations show the value of the portolan charts not only in recording the importance of a place but also providing relevant hydrographical conditions during this period.

⁵²⁸ Campbell, "Portolan charts from the late thirteenth century to 1500," 377-378.

⁵²⁹ Prior to my completion of this section (2.2), I had not been aware of Campbell's exhaustive toponymic analysis, of all Mediterranean coastal place-names in selected portolan charts, published on his own website in 2015: T. Campbell, "Portolan Chart Toponymy," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanChartToponymyFullTableREVISED.xls>. I have since incorporated the results from this toponymic analysis by Campbell below in 2.2.1.

2.2 Selected medieval portolan charts and my method of collation

Sixteen portolan charts that can be dated to before 1500 are listed in Table 2-1. The details of these portolan charts regarding the Cilician region are then supplied in Figure 2-3 through to Figure 2-18.⁵³⁰ Before making observations, two assumptions are made. First, each red place-name took on some level of centrality in contrast to those in black. This centrality may be signified by a good or service that could not be found in its surrounding region. Since red place-names are more important than the black ones, I view those in black as subsidiary to those in red. Here the concept of *complementary region* around a central place, as discussed by W. Christaller,⁵³¹ is not applicable. A complementary region of a location is an area for which a service or good is only found at the said location. The colour for these red place-names indicates their relative importance compared with other places in black, and consequently they can be viewed as central places. To evaluate the centrality of a place and the geographical extent of a location, records of goods or services found at all the places shown on portolan charts are requisite. Without any good or service found at all these places as a source of comparison, there is no way to establish a complementary region around a red place-name, which is demarcated with economic distance for obtaining the good or service in question at the said place. Second, because there is no way to demarcate the complementary region of a red place-name, I view each red place as being in hypothetical complete competition with its two neighbouring red places. The nature of competition is not defined here, but it is assumed to be anything from maritime traffic, merchants' trading activities, to provisioning. This assumption leads to the overlapping complementary regions of any pair of adjacent red place-names. In other words, the limit on one's complementary region is another red place-name on both sides. As shown in Figure 2-2, *lo Proensal* (coloured black in all my

⁵³⁰ The captions of these figures include: the number assigned in Table 2-1, the author's name, (approximate) dating, current location, current holding institution and call number.

⁵³¹ Cf. 2.3.

selected portolan charts), situated between Curcus and Palopoli, is counted as a subsidiary place to both Curcus and Palopoli. In addition, the assumption of hypothetical complete competition also indicates the minimal effects of topography. In other words, the red place-names are assumed to be located along a coastline with an isotropic plain as their hinterlands and possessed the same functions and provided the same goods and services. This theoretical isotropic plain is based on the blank space between places seen in the portolan charts. On these portolan charts, recorded coastal topographical features only include the relative position of locations and coastline or nearby rivers. There is no indication of land routes on these portolan charts. The connectedness between a red place-name and inland transportation routes is thus not included in my initial observations below. These exclusions for making preliminary observations are justified, as I aim to first lay out the data indicated by the portolan charts.

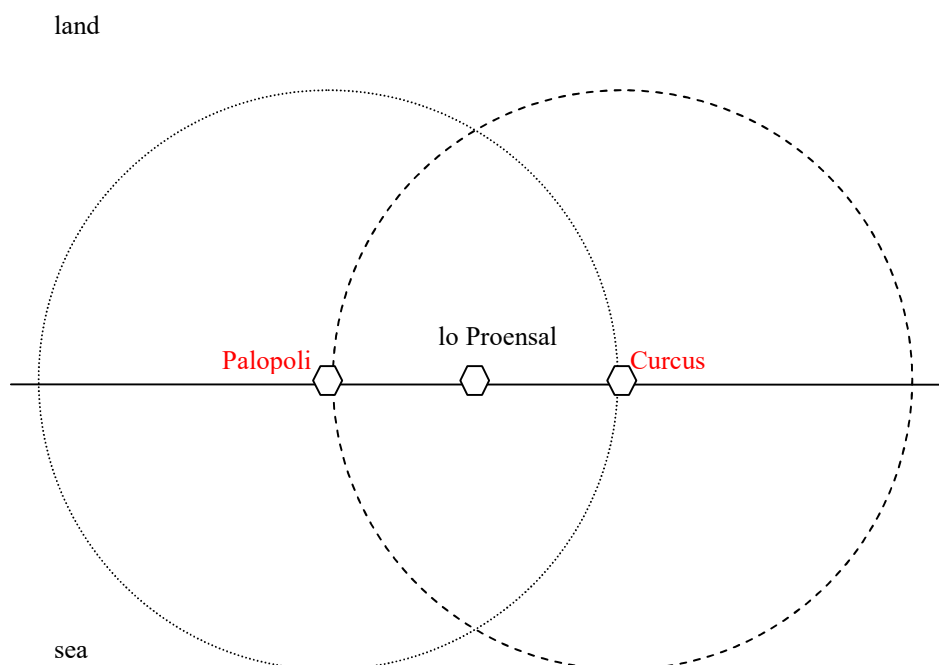


Figure 2-2. Diagram of complementary regions

Place-names along the Cilician coast between Antiozeta and Licia are transcribed from the selected portolan charts. Though this is a longer stretch of coastline than that found in traditional discussions on Cilician urban settlement,⁵³² it is necessary to take into account the edge effect for my observation. Because I view those black places as subsidiary to a red place, choosing any of Cilicia's black places as the outer limit of my observations cannot be justified. I view two neighbouring red places as in a hypothetical complete competition with each other, so a red place outside my intended area of observation is a better geographical limit of my examination. As will be shown below, Curcus remained red through all these portolan charts. As those black place-names are important in illustrating the importance of a red one, those to the west of Curcus should all be counted. Because Palopoli, further to the west of Curcus, changed from black to red in the selected portolan charts over time, it is necessary to include Antiozeta further west, to avoid the distortion towards the edge of this segment of the coastline. The same rationale applies to the case of including Licia, which is well outside the region of Cilicia under any definition.

From these sixteen selected portolan charts, there are in total 542 instances of a place being recorded on a selected portolan chart. Among these instances of presence, there are those in red as well as those in black. As discussed, place-names in red were more important for the chart-makers. Though Nordenskiöld thought that the list of red names remained static, with occasional exceptions from the fourteenth through to the sixteenth century,⁵³³ there are place-names shown in red only in later selected portolan charts (cf. Table 2-3). In Table 2-1 the sixteen portolan charts are placed in chronological order, based on the dating of Pujades i Bataller.⁵³⁴ In 2010, Campbell also produced a chronological list of portolan charts before

⁵³² It is longer than that found in, e.g., Naval Staff, Intelligence Department, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. IV, Part 2 (London: Naval Staff, Intelligence Department, 1919), 134-154.

⁵³³ Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 18.

⁵³⁴ See footnote 539.

1501, incorporating discoveries made after Pujades i Bataller's 2007 list,⁵³⁵ along with some explanatory notes.⁵³⁶ In Table 2-2, I counted the numbers of black place-names beside eight red ones. Alexandretta (in the Hatay province), Palopoli (in the Mersin province) and Tarsus (in the Mersin province) were initially in black but became red on later portolan charts. Since they appeared in red in at least one portolan chart, they are not included in the tallying of locations in black and are noted with brackets. In the case of barely legible place-names, a question mark is placed to continue the sequencing.⁵³⁷ Further, Table 2-3 shows only those instances in which a location is marked red on a given portolan chart. Those in brackets in Table 2-2 are added to the tallying of locations in black. Finally, Table 2-4 presents the numbers of place-names surrounding those six red ones. Antiozeta and Licia, included initially to avoid the edge effect and serving as the demarcation for *Sollino* (Samandağ in the Hatay province) and Palopoli, are discarded in Table 2-4. These place-names in red consist of a chain of major place-names along the Cilician coast.

This tallying for various red place-names is based on the total number of surrounding black place-names. Even if the place-names on the portolan charts were not actual settlements, but merely ports of anchorage, the total number of black place-names on both sides of a red one signifies the latter's relative importance along the Cilician coast. This aggregation also avoids the question of discrepancies between different sequencings, e.g., the case of *insula de Oliuia*.⁵³⁸ This island appears between *Crionaro* and *Spurie* in Figure 2-17 while being

⁵³⁵ T. Campbell, "Complete Chronological Listing," accessed 19 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/PortolanChartsChronologicalListing.xls>. This file also contains various pages with portolan charts organised according to the chart-makers, their current location and the portolan charts' provenance.

⁵³⁶ T. Campbell, "Explanatory Notes to the 'Complete Chronological Listing'," accessed 19 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/ListingExplan.html>.

⁵³⁷ I have not included the complete transcription of selected portolan charts, either here or in the Appendix. My transcription was seen and commented upon by my supervisor in the initial stage of my research for this chapter.

⁵³⁸ For a case of such confusion regarding the Adriatic region, cf. Campbell, "Innovative Portolan Chart Names," 'Areas of Greatest Confusion or Lack of Consistency'.

between *Spurie* and *Sequin* further west towards Antiozeta in all the other selected portolan charts.

Table 2-1. Selected portolan charts produced before 1500⁵³⁹

No.	Portolan chart ⁵⁴⁰	Dating	Author	Pujades i Bataller no. ⁵⁴¹	Campbell no. ⁵⁴²	Kretschmer no. ⁵⁴³
1	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. DD687	1313	P. Vesconte	A1	25	5
2	Vatican, BAV, ms. Pal. Lat. 1362A, f. 4v ^o	132[1]	P. Vesconte	A4	155	8
3	Vatican, BAV, ms. Vat. Lat. 2972, f. 108v ^o	c.1321	anonymous Venetian (from the Vesconte workshop)	A6	157	9
4	Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 4850, f. 7r ^o	2nd quarter of 14th c.	anonymous Genoese	A9	33	N/A
5	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. B696	1339	A. Dulceti	C8	13	13
6	Paris, BNF, ms. Espagnol 30	c.1375	widely attributed to Abraham Cresque; the ‘Catalan Atlas’	C16	28	17
7	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. B1131	1368-1385	G. Soler	C14	15	19
8	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. D7900	1409	A. de Virga	C27	23	N/A
9	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. AA566	1413	M. de Viladesters	C30	11	23
10	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. C5088	1422	G. Girolodi	C33	18	25
11	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. C4607	1447	G. de Vallseca	C42	17	37, 38
12	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. 5090	1462	P. Rosell	C64	19	43, 44
13	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. DD 2779	1466	G. Benincasa	A35	27	55, 60
14	Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. DD 1988	1467	G. Benincasa	A36	26	56

⁵³⁹ The dating and authorship for the selected portolan charts in this table are from: Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 63-70. Pujades i Bataller also supplies information on the size and measurement of each item and brief evaluation of decoration on each.

⁵⁴⁰ In this column, I have only included the relevant folio numbers for my research.

⁵⁴¹ This is the number assigned by Pujades i Bataller in his DVD of portolan charts’ images accompanying his book. ‘C’ stands for chart while ‘A’ stands for atlas. For distinction between atlas and chart, cf. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 423.

⁵⁴² Campbell, “Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts,” 71-84.

⁵⁴³ K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kartographie und Nautik* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962). Campbell’s compilation is larger than that of Kretschmer’s. In the case of a portolan chart discussed by Campbell, but not Kretschmer, N/A, i.e., ‘not applicable’, is indicated.

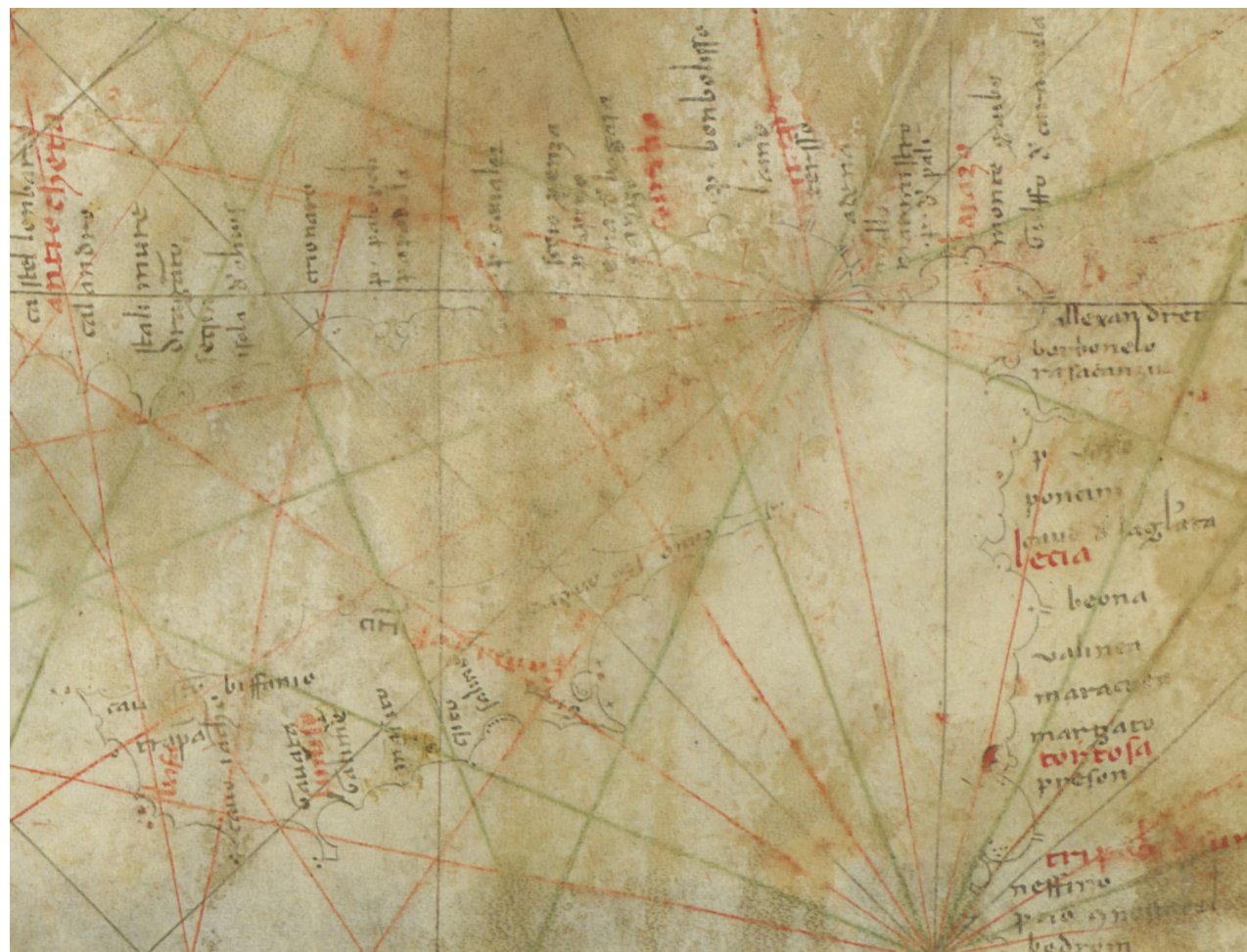
15	Paris, BNF, ms. Italien 1698, f. 2v ^o	1473 ⁵⁴⁴	Anonymous	N/A ⁵⁴⁵	29	N/A
16	Paris, BNF, ms. Italien 1710, f. 2r ^o	1480 ⁵⁴⁶	Anonymous	N/A ⁵⁴⁷	31	N/A

⁵⁴⁴ This is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century in: Campbell, “Census of pre-sixteenth-century portolan charts,” 73. As Pujades i Bataller did not include this one in his survey, I have relied on A. Cortesão for its dating. A. Cortesão, *History of Portuguese Cartography*. Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971), 192; cited from: T. Campbell, “Census of Pre-sixteenth-century Portolan Charts. Corrections and Updates,” accessed 15 May 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/portolancensus.html>.

⁵⁴⁵ See footnote 544.

⁵⁴⁶ This is not included in Pujades i Bataller’s survey. It is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century in: Campbell, “Census of pre-sixteenth-century portolan charts,” 73. In his corrections and updates in 2011 of this article published in 1986 on his gateway website, Campbell also includes works by E. Vagnon and M.-P. Laffitte, who date it to 1480. I have relied on E. Vagnon and M.-P. Laffitte for its dating. Campbell’s corrections and updates of his article published originally in 1986 can be found at: <http://www.maphistory.info/portolancensus.html>, accessed 15 May 2018.

⁵⁴⁷ See footnote 546.



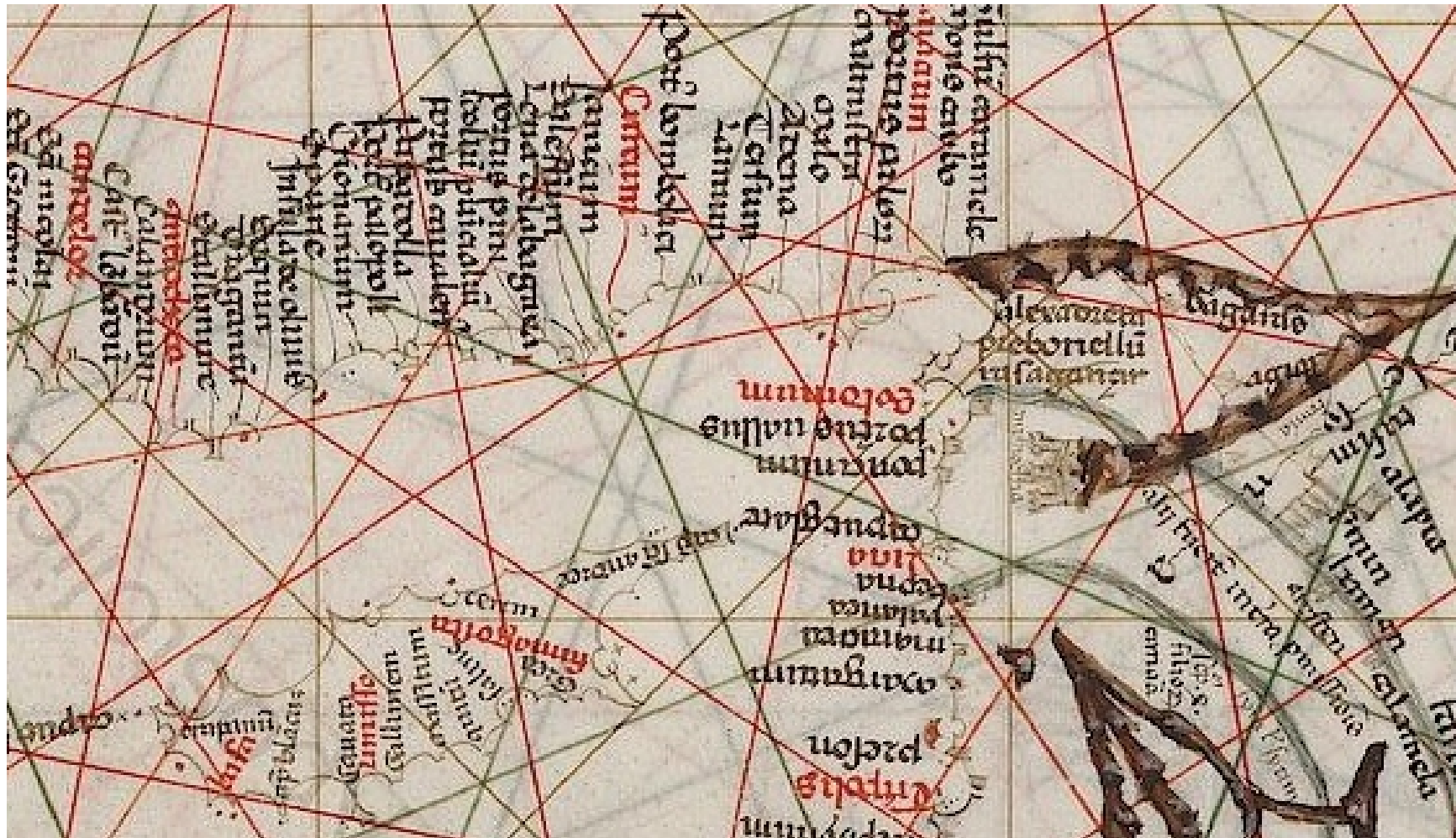


Figure 2-5. No. 3, anonymous Venetian (from the Vesconte workshop), c.1321; Vatican, BAV, ms. Vat. Lat. 2972, f. 108v°



Figure 2-6. No. 4, anonymous Genoese, 2nd quarter of 14th c.; Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 4850, f. 7r^o



Figure 2-7. No. 5, A. Dulceti, 1339; Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. B696



Figure 2-8. No. 6, Abraham Cresque (the 'Catalan Atlas'), c.1375; Paris, BNF, ms. Espagnol 30

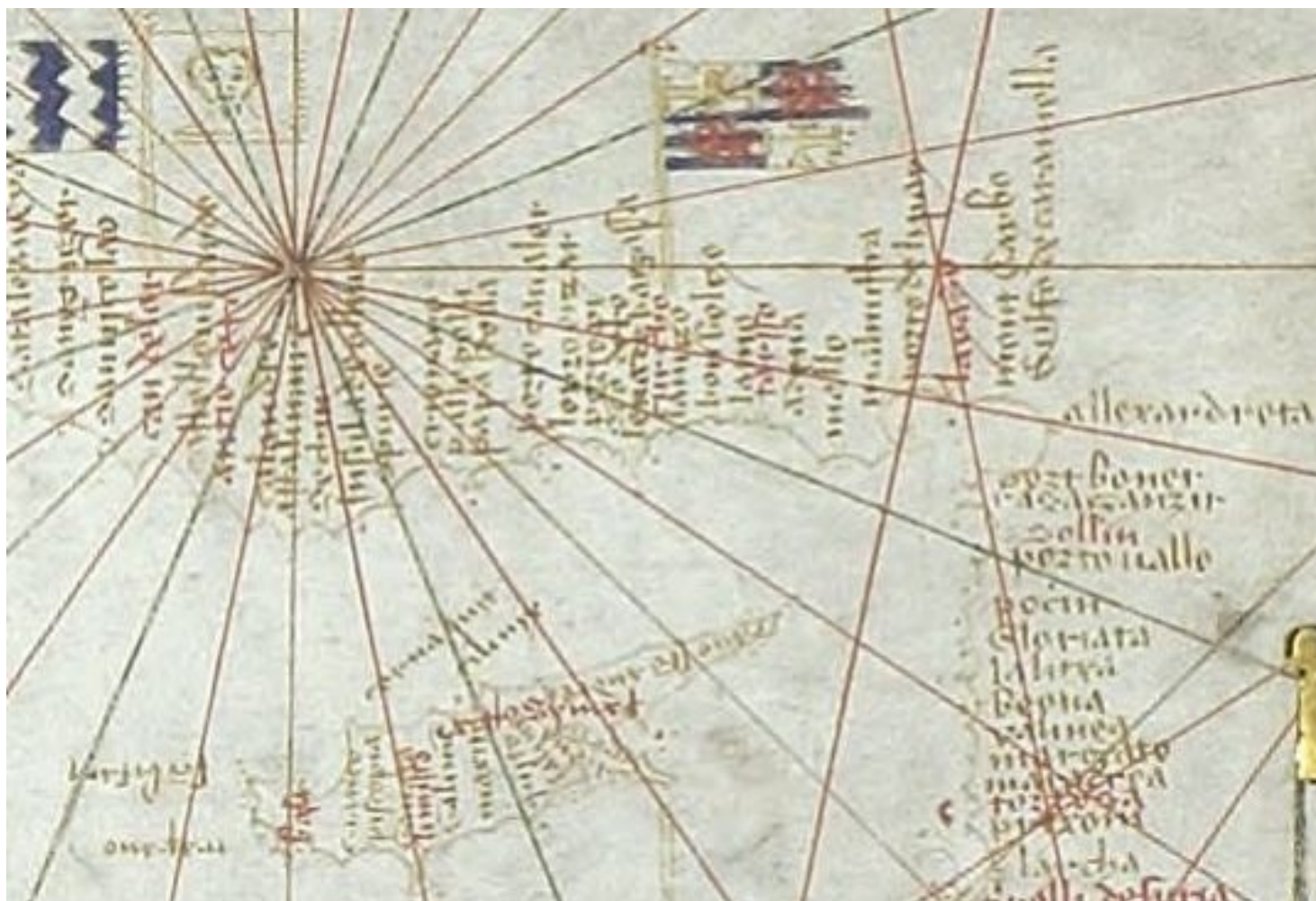


Figure 2-9. No. 7, G. Soler, 1368-1385; Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. B1131



Figure 2-11. No. 9, M. de Viladesters, 1413; Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. AA566



Figure 2-12. No. 10, G. Girolodi, 1422; Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. C5088

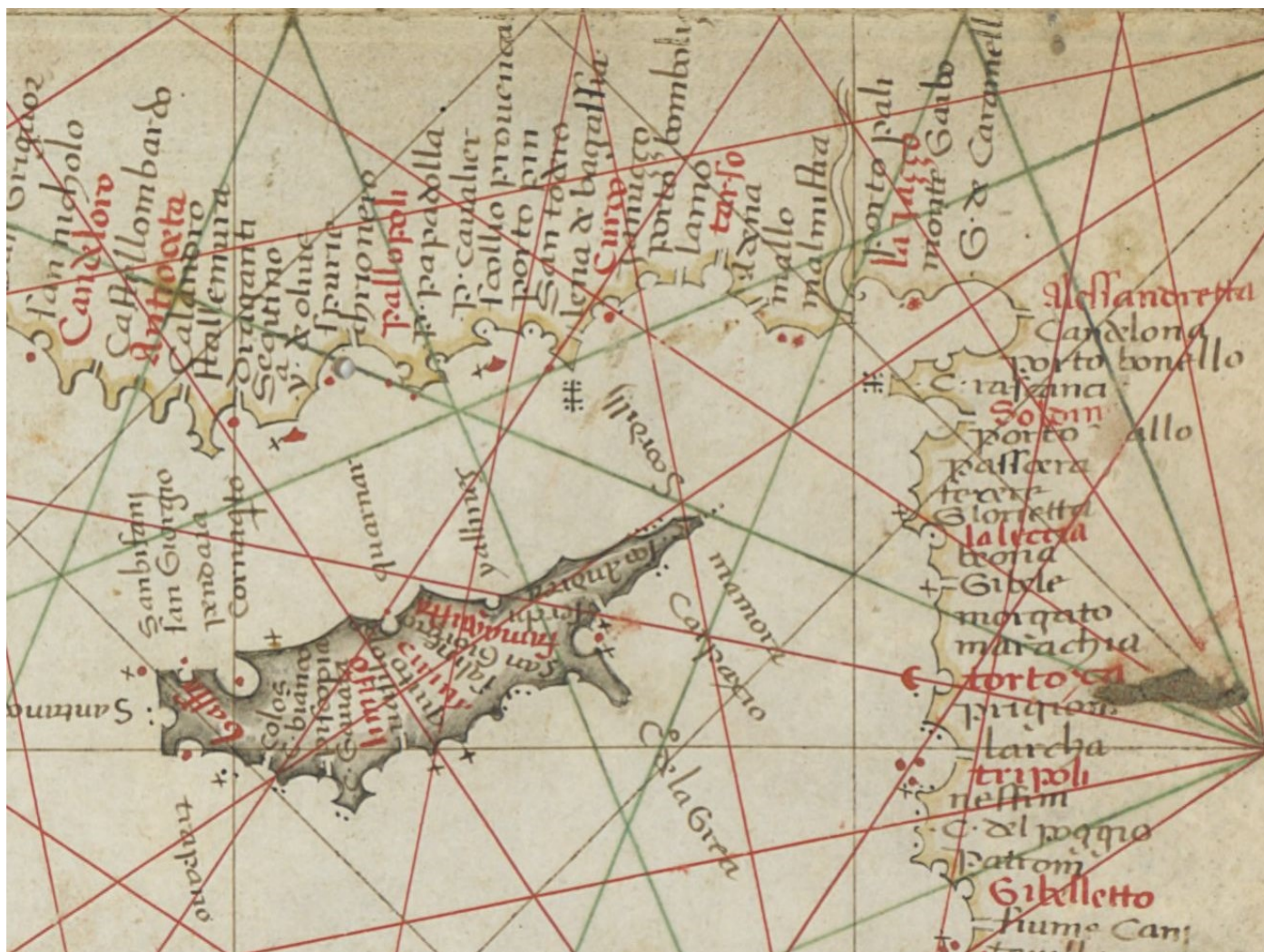


Figure 2-15. No. 13, G. Benincasa, 1466; Paris, BNF, Rés. Ge. DD 2779

Table 2-2. Number of place-names between selected locations

Number of place-names between selected locations														
Year	Licia		Sollino		Alexandretta		Ayacium		Tarsus		Curcus		Palopoli	Antiozeta
1313	lecia	3	[illegible] ⁵⁴⁸	2	[allexandret]	2	laiaza	4	[tersso]	2	curicho	6	[p. palopoli]	antiocheta
132[1]	lecia	3	Sollino	2	[allexandreta]	2	laiazo	4	[tersso]	2	curco	7	[porto pallopoli]	antiocheta
c.1321	Licia	3	Soldinum	2	[alexadreta]	2	Laiacium	4	[Tasum]	2	Curcum	7	[port palopoli]	antiocheta
2nd quarter of 14th c.	Licha	3	Soldino	2	alixandreta	0	Layazo	4	[tso]	3	corco	5	paropoli	antiocheta
1339	[porto d'liza]	3	Solim	2	[allexand?]	2	layazo	4	tarsso	3	cucho	5	[palopoli]	antioceta
c.1375	[lalitxa]	3	Sollim	2	[alaxandreta]	2	layazo	4	tarsso	3	curch	6	[pallopoli]	antioceta
1368-1385	[lalitxa]	3	Sollin	2	[allexandreta]	2	layaso	4	tarsso	3	curcho	6	[pallapolli]	antioceta
1409	laliza	4	sold?	2	[alisandreta]	2	layaza	4	tarso	2	curco	4	[palopoli]	antiozeta
1413	[lalitxa]	3	Solin	2	[alexandreta]	2	l?	4	tarso	3	curch	6	[pallopoli]	antoi?eta
1422	Laliza	5	Soldino	2	[?]	2	Laiaza	4	terso	2	curzo	6	[pallopoli]	antioceta
1447	lallitxa	3	Solin	3	[alaxandreta]	2	layax	4	tarso	3	curch	6	[p. pallopoli]	antioseta
1462	lalitxa	3	Solim	2	[alaxandreta]	1	layco	4	tarzo	3	curco	6	[p. pallopoli]	antiosecha
1466	laliccia	4	Soldin?	3	alessandretta	2	la Iazzo	4	tarso	3	Curco	6	pallopoli	antioceta
1467	laleccia	4	Soldino	3	alessandretta	2	la Iaço	4	tarso	3	Curco	6	pallopoli	Antioceta
1473	llaliça	3	Soldino	2	allesandreta	2	llaiaço	4	torso	2	corco	4	pallopoli	antioçeta
1480	Lalicia	4	Soldino	3	alesandreta	2	Laiaza	4	[N/R] ⁵⁴⁹	3	curco	6	pallopoli	antiochta

⁵⁴⁸ Campbell points out that the portolan chart produced by P. Vesconte in 1311 included Sollino in red. Though illegible on this portolan chart produced in 1313, I list Sollino as red in this table. Campbell, "Portolan Chart Toponymy," no. 1486. Pers. comm. 14 January 2018.

⁵⁴⁹ 'Not recorded' on the portolan chart.

Table 2-3. Number of place-names between locations in red ink

Number of place-names between locations in red															
Year	Licia		Sollino		Alexandretta		Ayacium		Tarsus		Curcus		Palopoli		Antiozeta
1313	lecia	3	[illegible]		5		laiaza		7		curicho		13		antiocheta
132[1]	lecia	3	Sollino		5		laiazo		7		curco		14		antiocheta
c.1321	Licia	3	Soldinum		5		Laiacium		7		Curcum		14		antiocheta
2nd quarter of 14th c.	Licha	3	Soldino	2	alixandreta	0	Layazo	8		corco		5	paropoli	5	antiocheta
1339	N/A ⁵⁵⁰		Solim		5		layazo	4	tarsso	3	cucho		11		antioceta
c.1375	N/A		Sollim		5		layazo	4	tarsso	3	curch		13		antioceta
1368-1385	N/A		sollin		5		layaso	4	tarsso	3	curcho		13		antioceta
1409	laliza	4	sold?		5		layaza	4	tarso	2	curco		11		antiozeta
1413	N/A		solin		5		l?	4	tarso	3	curch		13		antoi?eta
1422	Laliza	5	Soldino		5		Laiaza	4	terso	2	curzo		13		antioceta
1447	lallitxa	3	solin		6		layax	4	tarso	3	curch		13		antioseta
1462	lalitxa	3	solim		4		layco	4	tarzo	3	curco		14		antiosecha
1466	laliccia	4	Soldin?	3	alessandretta	2	la Iazzo	4	tarso	3	Curco	6	pallopoli	7	antioceta
1467	laleccia	4	Soldino	3	alessandretta	2	la Iaçço	4	tarso	3	Curco	6	pallopoli	7	Antioceta
1473	llaliça	3	soldino	2	allesandreta	2	llaiço	4	torso	2	corco	4	pallopolli	6	antioçeta
1480	Lalicia	4	soldino	3	alesandreta	2	Laiaza	7		curco		6	pallopolli	7	antiochta

⁵⁵⁰ ‘Not applicable’ because the next red location is further south from Licia.

Table 2-4. Number of place-names on both sides of the selected locations

Year	Sollino	Alexandretta	Ayacium	Tarsus	Curcus	Palopoli
1313	8	N/A	15	N/A	20	N/A
132[1]	8	N/A	12	N/A	21	N/A
c.1321	8	N/A	12	N/A	21	N/A
2nd quarter of 14th c.	5	2	8	N/A	13	10
1339	N/A	N/A	9	7	14	N/A
c.1375	N/A	N/A	9	7	16	N/A
1368-1385	N/A	N/A	9	7	16	N/A
1409	9	N/A	9	6	13	N/A
1413	N/A	N/A	9	7	16	N/A
1422	10	N/A	9	6	15	N/A
1447	9	N/A	10	7	16	N/A
1462	7	N/A	8	7	17	N/A
1466	7	5	6	7	9	13
1467	7	5	6	7	9	13
1473	5	4	6	6	6	10
1480	7	5	9	N/A	13	13

2.2.1 My observations of selected portolan charts

In Table 2-4, when a place-name starts to appear in red, it is more likely to appear in red in later portolan charts, e.g., Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus, although Licia is less so. This is against what is seen in *Carte Pisane*, as in the latter both Malmistra and Malo (both in the Adana province) are in red.⁵⁵¹ If *Carte Pisane* is correctly dated to 1300, then these two locations are examples of places becoming less important through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such a reversal is only seen in *Carte Pisane*, but not reflected for any other place-name in the selected portolan charts. Even if *Carte Pisane* could be dated later, Malmistra and Malo are not red in any of those selected portolan charts.⁵⁵² *Carte Pisane* is likely to be an outlier,⁵⁵³ so I do not include it in my subsequent analyses in this chapter. Despite some minor variations among the selected portolan charts, the numbers of black place-names between red ones are similar enough to indicate relative stability of importance regarding the red place-names. This echoes Campbell's observation that the toponymic development for the region including Cilicia was one of the most static.⁵⁵⁴ When only red place-names are listed with all the others being tallied, as shown in Table 2-3, a different pattern emerges. In the years of 1339, c.1375, 1368-1385 and 1413, the next place-name along the Syrian coast going from Sollino southwards is Tortosa (in Syria), not Licia. Because Tortosa is situated further away from the Cilician coastline, I have not provided any tally for Sollino. Discounting those parts of the portolan charts without Licia in red, the number of places ranges between three

⁵⁵¹ T. Campbell, "Abandoned Red Names Listings," accessed 5 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesAbandonedListing.doc>, no. 1475 and no. 1476 in 'Table. 1 Listing of abandoned Red Names'.

⁵⁵² Both appeared in black in the portolan chart of P. Vesconte in 1311. In his comprehensive toponymic survey, Campbell listed Malmistra and Malo as 'Unique', i.e., these two place-names are red only in *Carte Pisane*. Campbell, "Abandoned Red Names Listings," no. 1475 and no. 1476 in 'Table 1. Listing of abandoned Red Names'.

⁵⁵³ For Cilician place-names in red that are unique to *Carte Pisane*, cf. T. Campbell, "Red Names apparently unique to a particular chartmaker or found only on anonymous works," accessed 5 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesUnique.doc>, no. 1468, no. 1475 and no. 1476.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. footnote 515.

and five between Licia and Sollino. Between Sollino and Ayacium (in the Adana province), the number of place-names could be between four and six. In my selected samples, Alexandretta appears in red in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and from 1466 onwards. This pattern from my selected sample is indicative of Alexandretta becoming red in later charts. Campbell's toponymic survey indicates a 17-year gap between Alexandretta's first appearance in black in 1313 in the portolan chart by P. Vesconte, surveyed here, and its first red appearance in a portolan chart by A. Dulceti in 1330,⁵⁵⁵ not surveyed here.⁵⁵⁶ Before the second quarter of the fourteenth century, Alexandretta also appeared in red in a portolan chart by D. i F. Pizzigano earlier in 1367, not surveyed here.⁵⁵⁷ At the start of the fifteenth century, Alexandretta was in red in a portolan chart attributed to A. de Virga,⁵⁵⁸ not surveyed here, before being depicted in red in portolan charts by G. Benincasa in the 1460s.

Between Sollino and Ayacium, there are only three place-names during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, a low number compared with all the other selected portolan charts between these two places. The same can be observed between Curcus and Antiozeta during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, with the number of black place-names among the lowest numbers in comparison with comparable numbers from other portolan charts.

From Table 2-4, in the case of Alexandretta and Palopoli when they start to appear in red, the number of black places neighbouring them falls. In fact, there seems to be a downward trend for numbers of existing place-names in red to fall before a nearby place-name starts to appear in red. Figure 2-19 shows that the appearance of Alexandretta and

⁵⁵⁵ In the Corsini Collection, Florence. 'C7' in Pujades i Bataller's DVD.

⁵⁵⁶ Campbell, "Portolan Chart Toponymy," no. 1482; T. Campbell, "Summary Table of Red Names. Their Appearance, Frequency and Disappearance," accessed 4 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/RedNamesSummaryTable.doc>, no. 1482.

⁵⁵⁷ Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 204. In the DVD accompanying Pujades i Bataller's book, Alexandretta can be seen in red. I am grateful to T. Campbell for pointing this out. Pers. comm. 14 January 2018.

⁵⁵⁸ Venice, MC, port. 40. 'C28' in Pujades i Bataller's DVD.

Palopoli in red after the second quarter of the fourteenth century coincides with the fall in numbers of black place-names around Ayacium and Curcus. Whether this is coincidental is not clear. Overall, the biggest fall in Table 2-4 is the number for Curcus: from twenty surrounding place-names in black in 1313 to six in 1473. Next is Ayacium: from fifteen in 1313 to six in 1473. Along the Cilician coast, there seems to be a balanced concentration of black place-names around Ayacium and Curcus in the earlier portolan charts, with Curcus flanked by more black place-names. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, the concentration of place-names seems to be more spread out towards Curcus to the west and towards Alexandretta to the east. Figure 2-19 also shows that all red place-names see decreases in the number of surrounding black ones between 1320 and 1340 as well as between 1460 and 1480.

Based on the tallies in Table 2-4, I produce the Pearson correlation coefficient in Table 2-5. This correlation coefficient measures the linear correlation between two variables, i.e., relative importance of red places as defined by the number of its flanking black places and time. It can be anywhere between +1 and -1. Total positive correlation and total negative correlation, i.e., +1 and -1, mean that a linear equation encapsulates the relationship between the two variables, albeit in opposite ways. For +1, the value for one variable increases when the other variable increases; for -1, one variable increases while the other decreases. No correlation, i.e., 0, means that there is no linear equation that explains the relationship between the two variables. Table 2-5 suggests that the importance of Alexandretta grows, regarding the number of its surrounding black place-names, possibly at the expense of Sollino and Ayacium; and that of Palopoli, possibly at the expense of Curcus. In contrast, the relative importance of Tarsus appears to be stable. Table 2-5 only measures the correlation between two variables, time and the relative importance of a red place as defined by the number of its flanking black place-names. It is unlikely that the importance of a red place changed because

the time changed. Therefore, Table 2-5 only indicates changes in relative importance of a red place-name over time but does not indicate a causal relationship between the two variables: number of black place-names and time. Causes of these changes should be sought elsewhere.

2.2.2 Concluding remarks regarding the selected portolan charts

From the above observations regarding the number of black place-names located beside red ones, I here conclude with the following two points: (1) From the fourteenth through the fifteenth century, the relative importance of Ayacium and Curcus saw continuous decrease, if their importance is measured by the number of black place-names on each side of them; (2) Alexandretta's and Palopoli's relative importance increased during the course of these two centuries. However, whether an increase in one place's centrality is at the expense of another needs to be verified by evaluating the topographical features, including inland routes and other factors.

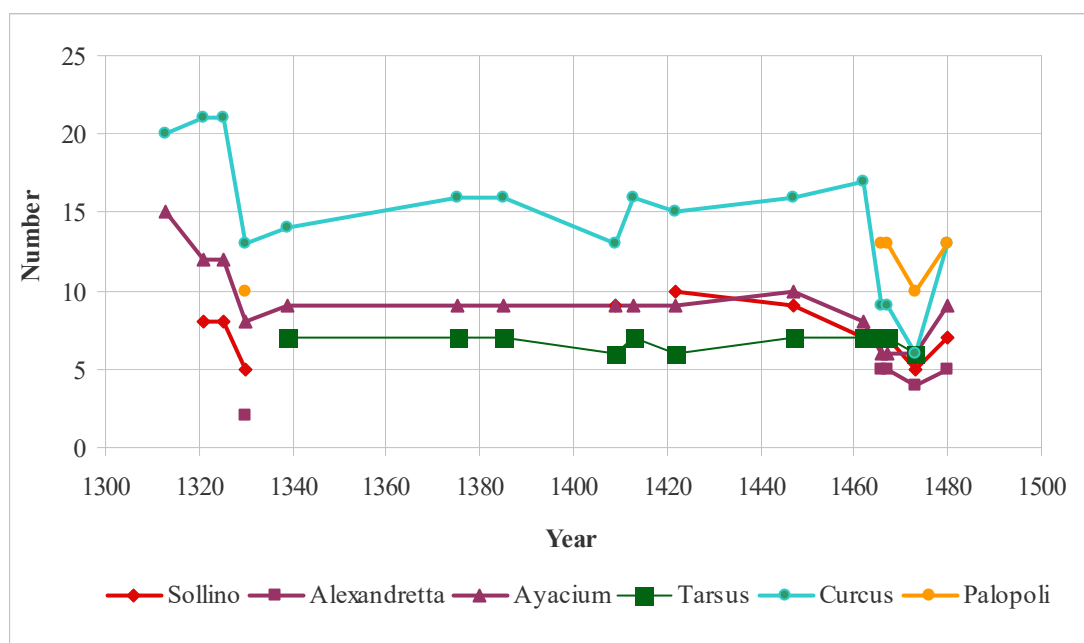


Figure 2-19. Number of place-names beside the six selected locations

Table 2-5. Gain or loss of importance over time for red place-names, 14th-15th c.

Location	Sollino	Alexandretta	Ayacium	Tarsus	Curcus	Palopoli
Correlation	-0.07399462	0.93505579	-0.71448543	-0.16315379	-0.67793396	0.59921958

The above observations do not indicate causes for the relative importance of Cilician coastal places. They only suggest some hierarchy of importance among these places. Before identifying causes of changes within it, I will first review relevant theoretical approaches to hierarchies of places. These approaches, location theory and central place theory in particular, share an assumption with that of my observation: locations situated on an isotropic plain. This assumption eliminates cost of transportation as a factor in considering the importance of a place.⁵⁵⁹ Though there have been attempts at applying such theories to interpreting archaeological data or textual sources, their inadequacy for the case of the medieval Cilician coast will be demonstrated below. I will then provide case studies of selected locations from the portolan charts and verify my initial observations with other primary textual sources. Though with some qualifications and limits on such case studies, I aim to show that the changes in this hierarchy of importance can be explained by the economic developments at these three places.

2.3 Hierarchy of places: review of theoretical approaches

Below I will review selected examples of evaluating a hierarchy of places in historical records. Then, the limitation of the central place theory will be highlighted and A. F. Burghardt's *gateway cities* will be introduced. The relevance of central place theory to interpreting portolan charts' data is derived from the colouring scheme of portolan charts' place-names: the dichotomy of colours indicates the existence of a hierarchy of places in the portolan charts. The usefulness of the central place theory, however, is curtailed by its focus on settlements within an overland transportation network. In contrast, Burghardt's *gateway*

⁵⁵⁹ For such marginal role of transportation cost in analysis, cf. footnote 575. In her discussion based on the Laconia Survey, P. Armstrong minimised the impact of transportation cost by viewing the cost as remaining constant during the surveyed periods: cf. footnote 576.

cities, which was built on the central place theory, outlines a more relevant theoretical approach to interpreting portolan charts' data.

The dichotomy of colours in these portolan charts indicates differing levels of importance attached to different segments of the Cilician coast by the chart-makers. Since these place-names include harbours and settlements or a combination of the two, there are three conceptual categories: harbours, harbour settlements and inland settlements with or without a harbour. To verify and explain these data, it is logical to resort to both archaeological data and textual sources from the medieval period. However, the current state of archaeological data is not available for collating finds from the medieval period.⁵⁶⁰ In addition to this, the textual sources provide only incidental mentions of Cilician locations in the medieval period. To identify a connection between the systematic visual representation of coastal places on portolan charts and the casual observations of these same places in textual sources, I need theoretical approaches to mediate these two distinct sets of data. Two features of these data, emphasis on red place-names as centres and hierarchy of importance, led me to location theory and central place theory.

Location theory, first proposed by J. H. von Thünen in 1826 and translated by C. M. Wartenberg in 1966,⁵⁶¹ structures the internal organisation of an isolated urban settlement. Its application to the Eastern Mediterranean contexts includes that by P. Armstrong⁵⁶² and by J. Koder.⁵⁶³ These two examples are relevant to assessing my datasets because they demonstrate the limitation of the location theory when it is applied to locations situated on the coastline. Assumed to be on an isotropic plain, an isolated settlement is surrounded by concentric

⁵⁶⁰ For such lack of archaeological data from the medieval period, cf. 2.4 below for my discussion on Alexandretta, Palopolis and Tarsus.

⁵⁶¹ J. H. von Thünen, *Von Thünen's 'Isolated State': An English Edition*, trans. C. M. Wartenberg (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966).

⁵⁶² P. Armstrong, "The survey area in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods," in *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: the Laconia Survey*. Vol. I *Methodology and Interpretation*, by W. Cavanagh et al. (London: British School at Athens, 2002), 339-402.

⁵⁶³ J. Koder, "Land use and settlement: theoretical approaches," in *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems and Methodologies*, ed. J. F. Haldon (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 159-183.

circles indicating different agricultural activities depending on the nature of a produce. As these agricultural activities are associated with different producer settlements,⁵⁶⁴ a hierarchy of spatial structure around a centre is thus articulated. In the Laconia surface survey, Armstrong provides a visualisation of such an internal structure without explicitly referring to the location theory. (Cf. Figure 2-20.)

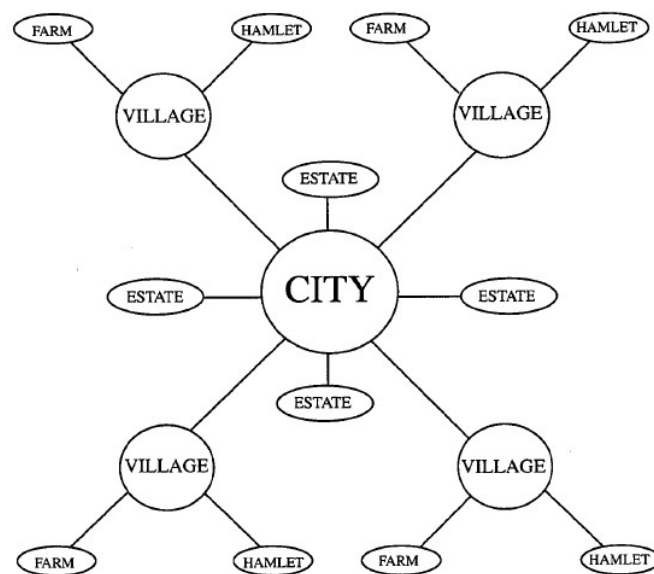


Figure 2-20. The eleventh-century site hierarchy in the Laconia Survey⁵⁶⁵

To replicate Armstrong's approach, not only have archaeological data from surface surveys to be available, but so does a hierarchy of terminologies in primary textual sources defining functions of various settlements. Becoming a post-Byzantine space in the thirteenth century, the case of Cilicia does not benefit from terminologies in the Byzantine textual sources.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, my data from the portolan charts show a potential hierarchy of importance among coastal places not just on a plain. Location theory is thus not sufficient for a multi-centred hierarchy. In contrast, central place theory seems a better point of departure.

⁵⁶⁴ Koder, "Land use and settlement," 161.

⁵⁶⁵ By D. Miles-Williams, in Armstrong, "The survey area," 361.

⁵⁶⁶ Armstrong, "The survey area," 347-350.

Based on the location theory, W. Christaller articulated in 1933 a central place theory that provides a framework for examining a multi-centred hierarchy consisting of different settlements in a given geographical space.⁵⁶⁷ The theory was further expanded by A. Lösch in 1940.⁵⁶⁸ There are four assumptions, summarised by Koder, that need to be addressed to apply this theory to my data. First, these central places are evenly distributed on an isotropic plain. Second, these central places enjoy differing importance according to their size. Third, central places could be important because of their administrative status, market or transportation. While each of these three functions influences the relationships between central places, a central place could also possess more than one of these functions. Fourth, a central place is characterised as a functional areal unit with its corresponding territory.⁵⁶⁹ Considering the three functions, i.e., administration, market and transportation, coastal places in my data from the portolan charts could at least be described as possessing one of them. The harbours and settlements without a harbour are assumed to possess transportation functions, as they are emphasised in red on the maps. I cannot assign the market function to these red place-names because it is not clear if all places in red were of substantial population during this period. This is also where the lack of comparable archaeological data across the region results in limitations on the application of this theoretical approach. Population size of places and their associated economic activities and output would indicate the importance of the places in question, thus the explanatory potential of central place theory. A good example of applying the central place theory to historical settlement patterns is that of G. W. Skinner. He combines data from his fieldwork and textual sources, mainly local histories, on the Sichuan

⁵⁶⁷ W. Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933); W. Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, trans. C. W. Baskin (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

⁵⁶⁸ A. Lösch, *The Economics of Location*, trans. W. H. Woglom (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954).

⁵⁶⁹ Koder, "Land use and settlement," 169-170.

basin in south-western China between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.⁵⁷⁰ Amongst various findings, Skinner identifies the mediating role of the standard market community, the smallest unit in his analyses.⁵⁷¹ This mediation shielded peasants in the villages from the institutions of the larger society.⁵⁷² The administrative hierarchy is distinct from the market hierarchy of the region because areas of the former were mutually exclusive while those of the latter could overlap.⁵⁷³ Thus, administratively a place would belong to a political centre while economically it could be attached to a few centres or market towns, higher in the market hierarchy. This overlap between market town areas and the flow of goods signifies the integrative potential for the underlying social structures.⁵⁷⁴

While Skinner's findings illustrate the explanatory potential of central place theory for historical examples, this approach cannot be replicated in the case of medieval Cilicia. One assumption in both location theory and central place theory impedes my attempt to replicate this approach: the isotropic plain. While such an ideal topographical feature could be adjusted in actual cases on land, its purpose underlines an obstacle that I need to overcome. An isotropic plain reduces the complications resulting from different modes of transportation over land and in turn focuses only on the distances from the centres. Such a feature, the marginal role of transportation in central place theory, is noted by J. H. Bird.⁵⁷⁵ The need to minimise the transportation factor is also illustrated by Armstrong's treatment of routes in the Laconia survey: citing nineteenth-century maps for medieval routes. She justifies this choice by noting that routes only changed substantially after the introduction of motorised vehicles

⁵⁷⁰ G. W. Skinner, "Marketing and social structure in rural China, Part I," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1964): 3-43.

⁵⁷¹ Skinner, "Marketing and social structure in rural China," 6-7.

⁵⁷² Skinner, "Marketing and social structure in rural China," 41-42.

⁵⁷³ Skinner, "Marketing and social structure in rural China," 19 (theoretical possibility, model A and model B in Figure I), 21, 31.

⁵⁷⁴ Skinner, "Marketing and social structure in rural China," 31-43.

⁵⁷⁵ J. H. Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," *Geography* 58, no. 2 (1973): 105-118.

in the twentieth century.⁵⁷⁶ In other words, the transportation factor is assumed to be static, in order to discern the relative importance of various locations in the Laconia survey. This reasoning is indeed supported by the observation by Burghardt: only new modes of transportation, not the improvement of speed, restructure a transportation system.⁵⁷⁷ In the case of the Cilician coast, not only does the region consist of varying topographical features, the problem of which could be tackled, but also varying modes of transportations, the problem of which concerns the basic tenets of both theories. The significance of maritime transportations for the settlement patterns has not been absent from discussions of historical examples; cases of proper assessment of their significance for settlement patterns, however, can only be sought elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. For example, the Strymon Delta Project has made such use of portolan charts and investigated the relative importance of coastal places for maritime trade that led to new discoveries.⁵⁷⁸ Other cases considering relative importance of coastal places are less successful on the question of maritime traffic and its importance for different locations within a region. For example, Koder discovers the regional discrepancy in the density of cities among the eastern Roman provinces,⁵⁷⁹ and concludes that the centre of gravity for eastern Roman provinces was still Rome, not Constantinople, up to the fifth century.⁵⁸⁰ Though Koder acknowledges the importance of maritimity,⁵⁸¹ he only touches on it again when explaining the settlement densities among three neighbouring regions, Thessaly, Hellas and Old Epiros.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁶ Armstrong, "The survey area," 341.

⁵⁷⁷ A. F. Burghardt, "A hypothesis about gateway cities," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 2 (1971): 273.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. 1.6.

⁵⁷⁹ J. Koder, "The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire: Some Reflections on a Settlement Geographical Approach to the Topic," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers, Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., August 3-8, 1986*, by International Congress of Byzantine Studies (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986), 183-185.

⁵⁸⁰ Koder, "The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire," 167.

⁵⁸¹ Koder, "The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire," 165.

⁵⁸² Koder, "The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire," 168.

The cases presented by Armstrong and Koder above show a limitation on the applicability of central place theory to the portolan charts' data, for which Burghardt's *gateway cities* is better suited. This limitation is the theory's focus on settlements not along the coastline. As Armstrong and Koder were primarily concerned with the relationship between different settlements connected by overland transportation, the central place theory was sufficient for their analyses. In contrast, portolan charts include places that were connected with the Mediterranean transportation network, not overland transportation. Since the centre of gravity within this network of maritime traffic is not identified for lack of data on maritime traffic,⁵⁸³ this network of coastal places is without a place central to the traffic flow.

For Burghardt, *gateway cities* are more than just central places, with eccentrically shaped service areas rather than concentric ones.⁵⁸⁴ They are both an exit from and an entrance into a tributary area,⁵⁸⁵ between regions of different levels of productivity.⁵⁸⁶ This intermediary function of gateway cities pointed out by Burghardt is similar to that observed by R. S. Lopez regarding the developing trading activities of Italo-Byzantine towns during the medieval period: "coastal towns without a hinterland and a hinterland without coastal towns were economically interdependent."⁵⁸⁷ It is through maritime traffic that two areas not adjacent geographically were connected.

Though an analytical concept for gateway cities on the land, it is further expanded by Bird for port developments. Defining port transportation as only one of the functions of a

⁵⁸³ Cf. footnotes 295, 296 and 297.

⁵⁸⁴ Burghardt, "A hypothesis about gateway cities," 285.

⁵⁸⁵ Burghardt, "A hypothesis about gateway cities," 269.

⁵⁸⁶ Burghardt, "A hypothesis about gateway cities," 270.

⁵⁸⁷ R. S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 2. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 326.

settlement,⁵⁸⁸ Bird points to different spatial structures for markets and transportations: the former areal, the latter linear.⁵⁸⁹ He then demonstrates the inadequacy of central place theory in interpreting settlement patterns when different functions within a city undergo centrosymmetric ordering.⁵⁹⁰ This ordering produces an urban landscape with distinct centres for different functions, causing the difficulty of calculating distance to an urban centre in general terms.⁵⁹¹ The question of maritime transportation is further complicated by the differing overlap of ports, functional or areal. The functional overlap means that the hinterland of a larger port overlaps with that of the smaller ports; the areal overlap means competition between two ports of comparable size for the same traffic within the same areas.⁵⁹² Based on central place theory, Bird thereby develops a triple theoretical framework: central place theory, gateway concept and *agglomeration/scale economies* to accommodate settlements such as seaports and mining towns. (Cf. Figure 2-21.) Citing a survey of functional classification of large cities, Bird defines the function of serving a region as a feature of central place theory, port function as a feature of gateway concept and administration, manufacturing and mining as those of agglomeration/scale economies.⁵⁹³ Bird's triangle provides a spectrum of function combinations for Cilician locations, especially when there is a lack of demographic data in lieu of market size. Based on this triple theoretical framework, Bird outlines three stages of port developments.

In the first stage, *pioneer gateways* (PGs) indicate exchange of raw materials between two areas. The second stage sees service industries not related directly to export develop around new *central places* (CPs) in the hinterlands of pioneer gateways. Finally, when the functions of agglomeration/scale economies become pronounced, pioneer gateways become

⁵⁸⁸ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 108-110.

⁵⁸⁹ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 105.

⁵⁹⁰ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 107.

⁵⁹¹ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 106, 108.

⁵⁹² Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 110.

⁵⁹³ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 114-115.

exchange gateways and central places (EGCPs).⁵⁹⁴ However, this development model devised by Bird does not address the potential competition between different gateways and instead focuses on individual ports and centres.⁵⁹⁵ Such competition between various coastal places has been reviewed in two cases with the emerging hierarchy of ports and inland locations based on population and transportation data from twentieth-century Ghana and Nigeria;⁵⁹⁶ a developmental model of port hierarchy based on tonnage data for Australian ports between 1861 and 1961/1962. (Cf. Figure 2-23.)

⁵⁹⁴ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 113.

⁵⁹⁵ P. J. Rimmer, "The search for spatial regularities in the development of Australian seaports 1861-1961/2," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 49, no. 1 (1967): 42.

⁵⁹⁶ E. J. Taaffe et al., "Transport expansion in underdeveloped countries: a comparative analysis," *Geographical Review* 53, no. 4 (1963): 503-529.

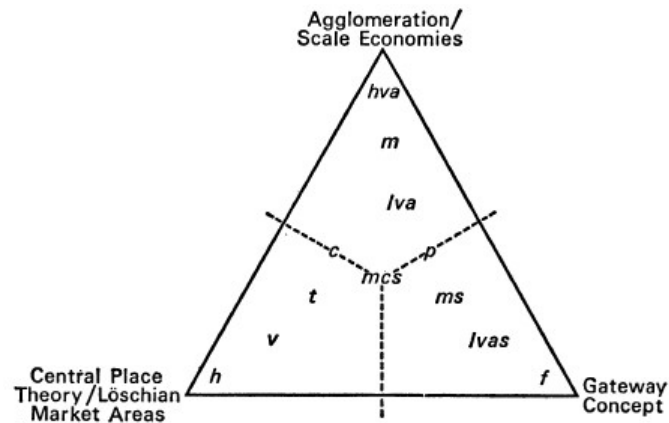


Figure 2-21. Triple theoretical framework by J. H. Bird⁵⁹⁷

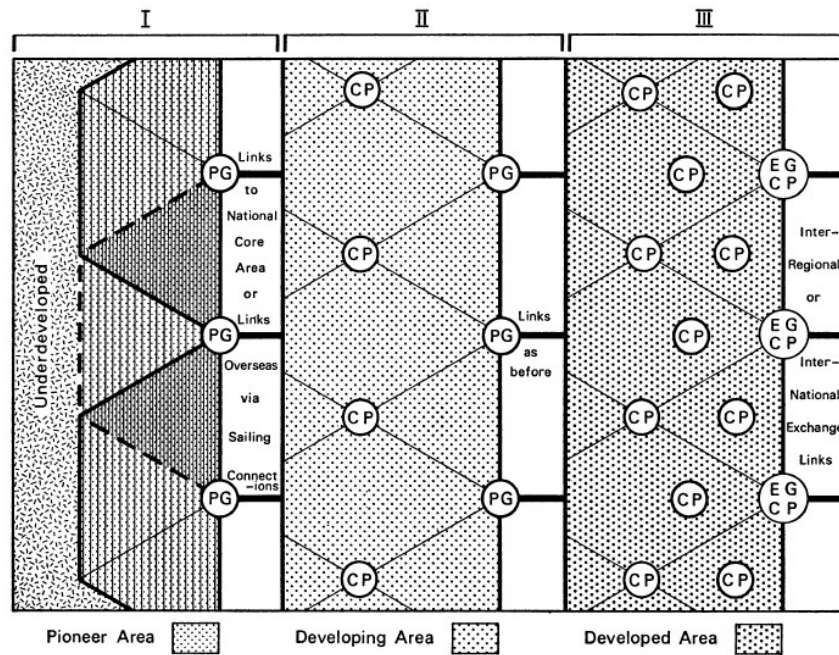


Figure 2-22. Three stages of gateway development⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 114.

⁵⁹⁸ Bird, "Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports," 113; Burghardt, "A hypothesis about gateway cities," 283.

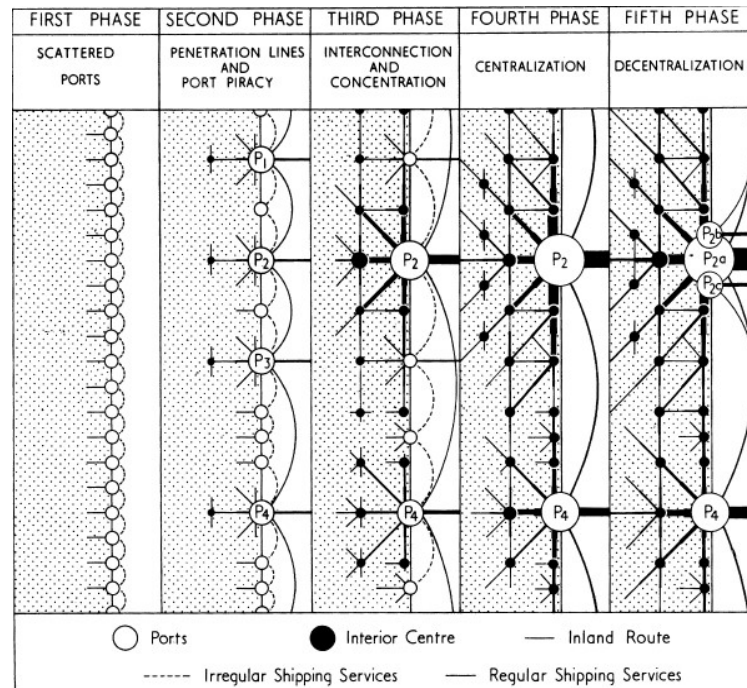


Figure 2-23. Theoretical sequence of port development by P. J. Rimmer⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁹ Rimmer, "The search for spatial regularities," 43.

Both cases emphasise the hybrid nature of port developments within a region and thus the developmental stages should not be viewed as temporally sequenced for any given region.⁶⁰⁰ Amongst various features of port hierarchy developments, the following are of significance for the case of medieval Cilician ports.

First, the improvements of internal access further inland could affect the dominance of a port.⁶⁰¹ The penetration lines from the ports to the inland area set in motion spatial adjustments in accordance with comparative locational advantages of places.⁶⁰² When some penetration lines start to tap into the hinterlands of other ports, i.e., lateral connection, the importance of some ports becomes apparent within the network hierarchy.⁶⁰³ (Cf. also Third Phase in Figure 2-23.) After the emergence of dominant ports with better lateral connections, there can be different developmental stages for the next phase: *high-priority main streets*, a belt of transportation line encompassing specific inland and coastal locations;⁶⁰⁴ decentralisation because of intensifying economic activities in the hinterland overrunning the capacity of a major port.⁶⁰⁵ (Cf. Fifth Phase in Figure 2-23.)

As my data from the portolan charts could be dated well after the Eastern Mediterranean trade became pronounced along the Cilician coast, the port developments along the medieval Cilician coast could not have been primitive. My observations of those selected portolan charts indicate a hierarchy of importance for those coastal places but verifying such a hierarchy requires historical data that are systematic and quantitative to decide if these port development approaches are applicable. In particular, there is a change in importance for three selected places: Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus, before the end of the fifteenth century. This change for the three places indicates a potential progress from one

⁶⁰⁰ Taaffe et al., "Transport expansion," 505; Rimmer, "The search for spatial regularities," 44.

⁶⁰¹ Rimmer, "The search for spatial regularities," 42.

⁶⁰² Taaffe et al., "Transport expansion," 506.

⁶⁰³ Taaffe et al., "Transport expansion," 511.

⁶⁰⁴ Taaffe et al., "Transport expansion," 514.

⁶⁰⁵ Rimmer, "The search for spatial regularities," 44.

stage of development to another seen in these approaches. Below, I will review available textual and archaeological data that are relevant for maritime transportation covering the period between 1100 and 1500 for these three places, to decide to what extent such a change is explicable by these theoretical approaches.

2.4 Three cases: Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus

2.4.1 Case 1: Alexandretta

Alexandretta was a settlement located on high ground to the south of the gulf of Alexandretta. Though textual sources for Alexandretta are not as numerous as those for Tarsus,⁶⁰⁶ there are some descriptions for it during the medieval period. In the eleventh-century *Book of Curiosities* (Gharā'ib al-funūn wa-mulāḥ al-‘uyūn; Bodleian MS Arab. c. 90), Alexandretta (*al-Iskandarūnah* in Arabic) is only briefly mentioned, without any comment on its navigability.⁶⁰⁷ Alexandretta was also mentioned by the two early portolan handbooks: *Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei* and *Lo Compasso de Navegare*.⁶⁰⁸ Alexandretta appeared to be already in ruins or destroyed in the thirteenth century: Wilbrand von Oldenburg described it, in 1212, as a destroyed walled city on the seashore.⁶⁰⁹ There is textual evidence, however, that its port had been utilised. Upon invading Alexandretta in 1097, Tancred destroyed or damaged the gates and walls,⁶¹⁰ but the port was

⁶⁰⁶ H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 112.

⁶⁰⁷ Y. Rapoport and E. Savage-Smith, trans., *An Eleventh-century Egyptian Guide to the Universe: the Book of Curiosities* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 449-450.

⁶⁰⁸ T. Campbell, "Later Introduction of 'Precursor Names' Seen on Selected Early Works," accessed 12 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/PrecursorNames.doc>, no. 1482. For the mention of Alexandretta in these two portolan handbooks, cf. Table 2-11. For more information on these two portolan handbooks, cf. 2.8.2.

⁶⁰⁹ D. Pringle, trans., *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 75.

⁶¹⁰ "..... Alexandriam minorem, portis et muris dirutis, subjugatam obtinuit....." Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*. Tome Quatrième (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 357.

used by him later.⁶¹¹ Stephen of Blois (c. 1057-1118), upon hearing of the mobilisation of enemy troops for the besieged Antioch, left for Alexandretta which was not far from the port on the pretext of ill health in 1098.⁶¹² F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper believe that Alexandretta was used as a port again after the Ottoman conquest in 1515, with its port castle built in the first half of the sixteenth century,⁶¹³ probably under Suleyman I (1520-1566).⁶¹⁴ Pîrî Reis described Alexandretta as a ruined castle on a low promontory in 1521.⁶¹⁵

Had it been in ruins throughout the thirteenth century, Alexandretta was still a port of some importance, for it is included in the portolan charts from the fourteenth century onwards. In the anonymous Greek portolan handbook of the sixteenth century, there was a good harbour twelve miles southeast from Ayacium,⁶¹⁶ likely to be Alexandretta. (Cf. the Delatte text below in Table 2-11.) Non-Greek portolan charts in the fourteenth century also documented the place, as shown in Table 2-2. An earlier portolan handbook from c.1200, also notes its presence as a city.⁶¹⁷ Another portolan chart in Greek produced by Nikolaos Bourdopolos from Patmos from the sixteenth century also notes its presence.⁶¹⁸ If Alexandretta had remained merely a place with limited connection to its surroundings prior to the Ottoman invasion, as Hild and Hellenkemper imply, the Western merchants certainly took

⁶¹¹ “..... Redit et Tancredus ab Alexandria minori et maritimis regionibus;” Albertus Aquensis, “Historia Hierosolymitana,” 360.

⁶¹² “Inter has diversas opiniones, nescio qua de causa, Stephanus Blesensis infirmitate occupari se plurimum testatus est, nec se posse ultra moram facere in obsidione; fratresque commendans, et ab eis hac recedens infirmitatis occasione, versus maritima ad Alexandriam Minorem profectus est. Eo itaque recedente, quatuor milia virorum belligerorum eum secuti sunt, qui de ejus fuerant comitatu.....” Albertus Aquensis, “Historia Hierosolymitana,” 398; also: William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*. Vol. 1, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, NY: Columbia University Press 1943), 239-240.

⁶¹³ F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Band 5, Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 172.

⁶¹⁴ Hellenkemper and Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien*, 114.

⁶¹⁵ E. Z. Ökte, ed., V. Çabuk, transcrip., and R. Bragner, trans., *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 4 (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, 1988), 1577.

⁶¹⁶ “..... καὶ ἀφίνης τον δεξιὰ σου καὶ πήγαινε ἀλάργο μίλιν α΄ καὶ τότε ἄμε εἰς τὸν λεβάντε καὶ θέλεις ράξη εἰς ὀργίαις ἰβ΄ καὶ ἔναι καλὸς λυμιόνας. Ἀποκεῖ μίλια ἰβ΄ εἰς τὸν μάλιστα πουνέντε θωρεῖς τὸ Ἀγιάσιν, κάστρον μέγαν.....” A. Delatte, ed., *Les Portulans Grecs* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1947), 172 lines 4-8.

⁶¹⁷ “..... A Raseleganzir ad Alexandriam ciuitatem ml. .x.....” P. Gautier Dalché, ed., *Carte Marine et Portulan au XIIIe Siècle: Le Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1995), 130.

⁶¹⁸ Paris, BNF, ms. Supplément grec 1094.

note of it before that, judging from the recordings seen in the portolan charts and handbooks. Hild and Hellenkemper also note the presence of Western merchants' activities at Alexandretta during the sixteenth century.⁶¹⁹ The visual depictions on the selected portolan charts indicate earlier recognition regarding the importance of Alexandretta, contrary to the assertions of Hild and Hellenkemper.

2.4.2 Case 2: Palopoli

In the surveyed portolan charts, Palopoli appeared in red in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and then from 1466 onwards. Before 1500, there are other instances in which Palopoli was in red. One other portolan chart by G. Benincasa in 1461, not surveyed here, also shows Palopoli in red.⁶²⁰ Before G. Benincasa's portolan charts, Palopoli also appeared in red in two anonymous Venetian atlases in the early fifteenth century.⁶²¹ Its increasing importance during the second half of the fifteenth century is not reflected in the textual sources. It was identified by Dominicus Marius Niger in the sixteenth century with *Celenderis* (Aydıncık in the Mersin province),⁶²² which is also the identification by Pîrî Reis, an Ottoman naval officer, in 1521 as *Gilindire*.⁶²³ Meaning 'old city' (παλαιὰ πόλις),⁶²⁴ Palopoli is one of the strategic places in Western Cilicia, as it is the nearest point to Cyprus.⁶²⁵ Among the witnesses to Lewon I's coronation in 1198, this 'old city' is mentioned

⁶¹⁹ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 172. This conclusion seems odd as the cited work, by Hellenkemper and Hild in an earlier volume, does not provide evidence of Western merchants' presence at Alexandretta in the sixteenth century. Hellenkemper and Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien*, 114.

⁶²⁰ Campbell, "Summary Table of Red Names. Their Appearance, Frequency and Disappearance," no. 1461.

⁶²¹ Venice, BNM, It. VI, 213 (5982) ('A11' in Pujades i Bataller's DVD); London, BL, Add. MS. 19510 ('A12' in Pujades i Bataller's DVD. I am grateful to T. Campbell for pointing this out. Pers. comm. 14 January 2018.

⁶²² "..... Dein Celenderisora, ubi eiusdem nominis ciuitas quæ portû habet Samiorû colonia, Palopoli nunc dicitur....." Dominicus Marius Niger, *Dominici Marii Nigri Veneti Geographiae Commentariorum Libri XI: Nunc Primum in Lucem Magno Studio Editi* (Basel: Petri, 1557), 467.

⁶²³ Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 4, 1591.

⁶²⁴ Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 667.

⁶²⁵ V. Evrin et al., "Aydıncık (Kelenderis)–Yılanlı Ada Kilikya 2003 Sualtı Haritalama Çalışmaları," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantıları* 22, no. 1 (2004): 279. The report has also been published in English: V. Evrin et al., "Underwater archaeological survey on Cilician coasts: discovering an anchorage site – Aydıncık-Yılanlı Island,"

as under the control of Kersak, who also controlled Malva and Sik.⁶²⁶ Yet, it is not mentioned in *Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei* and *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, two anonymous thirteenth-century portolan handbooks.⁶²⁷

The harbour of Palopoli is sheltered by a rock outcrop protruding from the southwest (cf. Figure 2-24). It is called ‘a snug but very small port’ by F. Beaufort during his survey in 1811 and 1812, where the couriers from Constantinople embarked for Cyprus.⁶²⁸ Of interest to the archaeologists have been the Roman bath to the west of the harbour and the necropolis further west.⁶²⁹ The medieval ruins including the fortress are found on the small promontory protecting the harbour.⁶³⁰

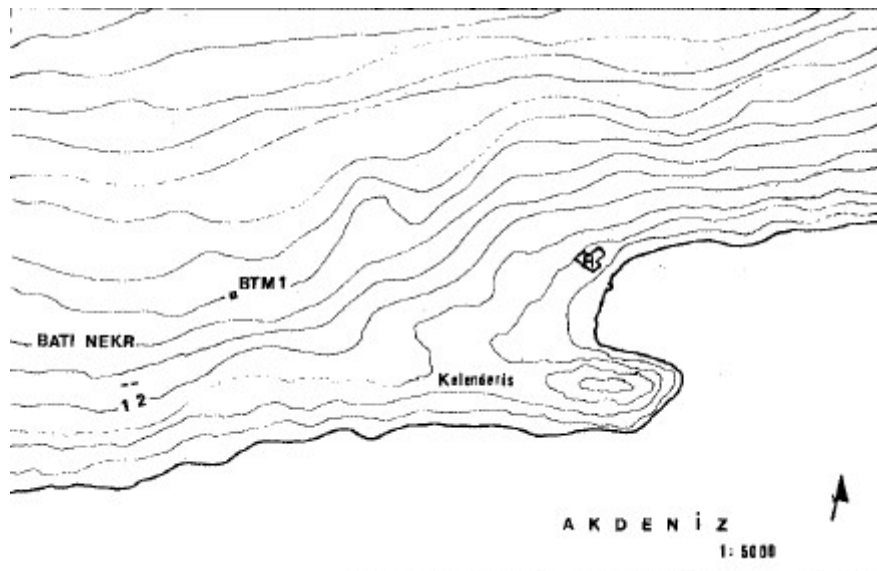


Figure 2-24. Topographical map around Palopoli⁶³¹

in *The Application of Recent Advances in Underwater Detection and Survey Techniques to Underwater Archaeology*, ed. T. Akal et al. ([s.n.]: Uluburun Publishing, 2004), 39-38.

⁶²⁶ G. Dédéyan, trans., *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste P. Gauthner, 1980), 80.

⁶²⁷ Cf. footnotes 805 and 806 and Table 2-11.

⁶²⁸ F. Beaufort, *Karamania, or a Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity: With Plans, Views, &c. Collected during a Survey of That Coast, under the Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the Years 1811 & 1812* (London: printed for R. Hunter, 1817), 201.

⁶²⁹ For example, L. Zoroğlu, “Kelenderis, 1987 Yılı Kazısı,” *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 10, no. 1 (1988): 135-155; L. Zoroğlu, “Kelenderis Mezar Buluntuları,” *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 10 (1986): 455-469.

⁶³⁰ Naval Staff, Intelligence Department, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. III, Part 3 (London: Naval Staff, Intelligence Department, 1918), 147.

⁶³¹ Zoroğlu, “Kelenderis, 1987 Yılı Kazısı,” 144.

The fortress on the rock outcrop facing east was described by Pîrî Reis as having been in ruins in the sixteenth century after an undated attack by the Venetians.⁶³² Its prior occupation is not clear. In the *Book of Curiosities*, there is no mention of the harbour at Palopoli.⁶³³ This treatise possibly was compiled between 1020 and 1050 in Egypt.⁶³⁴

There is good archaeological evidence of economic activities taking place at Palopoli. An underwater archaeological survey uncovered ‘high amount of different types of anchor’ (36 stone anchors, 1 stone stock, 11 metal anchors, 1 lead stock and its lead collar) in the region of Aydıncık-Yılanlı Island.⁶³⁵ K. Bircan points out that the period of those anchors stretched from fourteenth century BC to the eleventh century AD.⁶³⁶ For the dating of anchors with any definitiveness, G. F. Votruba thinks it difficult, however.⁶³⁷ Therefore, I am unable to benefit from such archaeological data at this stage.

2.4.3 Case 3: Tarsus

In the selected portolan charts, Tarsus became red in 1339. It in fact appeared in red in a portolan chart by A. Dulceti in 1330, not surveyed here.⁶³⁸ It is also in red in *Carte Pisane*,⁶³⁹ currently the earliest known portolan chart, and was noted by the earliest known portolan handbook.⁶⁴⁰ Unlike Palopoli and Alexandretta, there are abundant references in the textual sources to Tarsus. While these textual sources do not provide much information on

⁶³² Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 4, 1591.

⁶³³ Rapoport and Savage-Smith, *An Eleventh-century Egyptian Guide to the Universe*, 449-450.

⁶³⁴ Rapoport and Savage-Smith, *An Eleventh-century Egyptian Guide to the Universe*, 1.

⁶³⁵ Evrin et al., “Aydıncık (Kelenderis),” 279-280.

⁶³⁶ Pers. comm. 2 June 2016.

⁶³⁷ He completed his doctoral research in 2014, at the University of Oxford, on iron anchors and mooring in the ancient Mediterranean. Pers. comm. 2 June 2016.

⁶³⁸ Campbell, “Summary Table of Red Names. Their Appearance, Frequency and Disappearance,” no. 1473.

⁶³⁹ Cf. footnote 497.

⁶⁴⁰ For this early portolan handbook, cf. footnote 805; for my translation of passages mentioning Tarsus, cf. Table 2-11.

the pattern of trading activities at Tarsus during the medieval period, they point to the importance of Tarsus as a city in Cilicia through this period.

Between the late seventh and mid-tenth centuries, there is numismatic and archaeological evidence of economic activities at Tarsus⁶⁴¹ prior to the documented presence of Western merchants in the region. From some 600 Islamic coins found at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus dated to this period,⁶⁴² G. C. Miles identified coins with mint attribution to locations as far as southwest of Mardin.⁶⁴³ Such numismatic evidence indicates that Tarsus was a location of trading activities. Such abundant numismatic evidence is a contrast with the limited number of coin finds for subsequent periods at Tarsus between the thirteenth and sixteenth century, i.e., during the Seljuk, Armenian, Mamluk and early Ottoman period.⁶⁴⁴

While the Armenian presence in the city can be dated back to the tenth century,⁶⁴⁵ the Armenian over the city in the thirteenth century did not preclude the presence of other religious communities: there are records of Latin (Crusader) bishoprics between 1099 and 1374.⁶⁴⁶ There is archaeological evidence showing the composite nature of the local society at Tarsus: a funerary slab with an Armenian inscription dated 1351. Based on the style of the funerary slab, I. Rapti concluded that the deceased *sire Philippe* (սիր Փիլիպ) was an

⁶⁴¹ H. Goldman, "Preliminary expedition to Cilicia, 1934, and excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1935," *American Journal of Archaeology* 39, no. 4 (1935): 528 and 546. For the stratigraphic table of catalogued objects, cf. H. Goldman, ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, Vol. 1. *Text. The Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 404-409. The analysis of these coins in the same volume by D. H. Cox unfortunately does not include the Islamic coins found from the excavations. H. D. Cox, "The Coins," in *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, Vol. 1. *Text. The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, ed. H. Goldman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 38. A separate analysis of the Islamic coins was later conducted by G. C. Miles. Cf. footnote 642.

⁶⁴² G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-1937," in *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of Her Seventy-fifth Birthday*, ed. S. S. Weinberg (Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1956), 297.

⁶⁴³ Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-1937," 299.

⁶⁴⁴ Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-1937," 312.

⁶⁴⁵ F. Macler, trans., *Histoire Universelle par Étienne Asolik de Tarôn (deuxième partie), Traduite de l'Arménien et Annotée* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1917), 141.

⁶⁴⁶ G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*. Vol. 2 (Verona: Mazziana, 1976), 218-219

Armenian knight possibly belonging to a military order.⁶⁴⁷ She also noted the style of the inscription on the slab, which was prevalent in the Latin East especially in Cyprus,⁶⁴⁸ with a motif (a standing lance behind the knight) rarely seen on those slabs from Cyprus.⁶⁴⁹ In addition, the knight's head is covered by a cap with a hemispherical calotte, a vestment accessory introduced in Greater Armenia during the fourteenth century.⁶⁵⁰ These features show the hybrid nature of this funerary slab in its production in Tarsus: artistic influence from the Latins and Armenian artistic influence from Greater Armenia.

The built environment in Tarsus during the medieval period is also documented in the medieval textual sources. The eleventh-century *Book of Curiosities* notes an anchorage in the river for Tarsus (*Ṭarsūs* in Arabic).⁶⁵¹ Wilbrand von Oldenburg did not comment on its river port in 1212, but he did mention its many inhabitants and a good castle at one end of the worn-out wall.⁶⁵² E. J. Davis documented in the nineteenth century two gates, probably built during the reign of Justinian I, repaired by Lewon I (r. 1198-1219) and Het'um I (r. 1226-1270).⁶⁵³ There is also epigraphical evidence of Het'um I's repair work at a church in the city in 1229.⁶⁵⁴ In the nineteenth century, Beaufort was told by a local inhabitant that ancient monuments were either destroyed or converted into different buildings.⁶⁵⁵

Before the establishment of the Armenian kingdom in 1198, control over Tarsus was contested between the Armenians, the Byzantines and the Crusaders. Although Tarsus was mentioned in the chrysobull by Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) issued in 1082 to the

⁶⁴⁷ I. Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse: l'épithaphe arménienne de sire Philippe, mort en 1351," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 54 (2011): 80.

⁶⁴⁸ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 75.

⁶⁴⁹ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 77.

⁶⁵⁰ Rapti, "Note sur une pierre tumulaire découverte à Tarse," 77.

⁶⁵¹ Rapoport and Savage-Smith, *An Eleventh-century Egyptian Guide to the Universe*, 449-450.

⁶⁵² Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, 77.

⁶⁵³ E. J. Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey: A Journal of Travel in Cilicia (Pedia and Trachoea), Isauria, and Parts of Lycaonia and Cappadocia* (London: Edward Stanford, 1879), 37.

⁶⁵⁴ V. Langlois, *Inscriptions Grecques, Romaines, Byzantines et Arméniennes de la Cilicie* (Paris: A. Leleux, 1854), 26.

⁶⁵⁵ Beaufort, *Karamania*, 263.

Venetians regarding their trading activities there,⁶⁵⁶ clear indications are absent regarding the extent of such activities there. In the Armenian concessions to the Genoese in 1201, Lewon I granted an existing church to the Genoese in the city.⁶⁵⁷ After the control of customs revenue from Ayacium was taken over by the Mamluks in 1323, Tarsus became the main point of contact between the kingdom and the Mediterranean trading network.⁶⁵⁸ The port of Tarsus was mentioned in 1333 in Armenian concessions to Venice.⁶⁵⁹ Once an important port city for the Armenian kingdom, the city was captured by the Mamluks in 1360,⁶⁶⁰ and became a source of security threat to the Armenian kingdom: in 1367, The ruling emir at Tarsus recruited Karamanid Türkmén to attack Sis.⁶⁶¹

2.5 Gap between archaeological and textual sources and theories

These three cases highlight the inadequacy of textual sources regarding the medieval economic and specifically trading activities taking place in Cilicia before the Ottoman invasion. They also reveal the unevenness of historical information for these three places during the Armenian rule in both the textual sources and archaeological data. For Alexandretta and Tarsus, the portolan charts and handbooks supply additional information, over and above sporadic mentions in other textual sources prior to the Ottoman period. For Palopoli, the portolan charts and handbooks remain the only source of indication for its

⁶⁵⁶ “Concessit autem celsitudo nostra et eos universas mercari species in omnibus Romanie partibus, videlicet apud magnam Laodiciam, Antiochiam, Mamistam, Adanam, Tarsum, Ataliam,” M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, eds., *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1993), 40 §8.

⁶⁵⁷ “..... Simitlier in civitate Tharsensi ecclesiam constructam, locum et terram ad faciendum fundum, domos et curiam, et quod habeant curiam in omni terra mea, que modo mee subjacet diccioni, et quam, Deo dante, acquisiturus sum.....” V. Langlois, ed., *Le Trésor des Chartes d’Arménie: Ou, Cartulaire de la Chancellerie Royale des Roupéniens: Comprenant tous les Documents Relatifs aux Établissements Fondés en Cilicie par les Ordres de Chevalerie Institués pendant les Croisades et par les Républiques Marchandes de l’Italie, etc.* (Venice: Typographie arménienne de Saint-Lazare, 1863), 106-107.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. footnote 1211.

⁶⁵⁹ A. Sopraccasa, ed., *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia, 1201-1333* (Rome: Viella, 2001), 110 §6.

⁶⁶⁰ Jean Dardel, “Chronique d’Arménie,” in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*. Vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 53; A. K. Sanjian, trans., *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 92 (1361 no. 3).

⁶⁶¹ Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, 95 (1367 no. 1).

importance during the medieval period. Thus, the portolan charts and handbooks are a valuable source for the relative importance of places between 1300 and 1500. The question is: what were the criteria for marking some place-names as important, but not others? As there is not much description of these three places during the medieval period regarding their settlement structures and economic activities, it is not viable to outline typological patterns that made a place more important. There is recorded presence of a port at these three places, but the shared characteristic among the three ends there. Even on the question of the port facility, these three locations possess different ports: a good harbour at Alexandretta, a small but sheltered port for Palopoli and a river port for Tarsus. While red place-names could be either settlements or topographical features,⁶⁶² it is not clear whether surrounding topography of Alexandretta and Palopoli became important for coastal sailing or there appeared important settlements for the merchants.

The scarcity of archaeological and textual data for medieval Cilician locations likewise impedes the attempt to apply the theoretical approaches discussed above. On the one hand, these theoretical approaches address the relative importance of a place in a given area. Their applicability seems in no doubt. For example, in the stages of port development devised by Rimmer (cf. Figure 2-23), clustering of ports takes place from the Third through to the Fifth Phase. Such clustering reflects the hierarchy of importance for coastal places in relation to the ports. On the other hand, there are two obstacles hindering their direct application. First is the assumption of an isotropic plain. This assumption is to minimise the variables in calculating transportation costs. Adjusting this isotropic plain is possible by including functions of selected topographical features. This inclusion of selected topographical features does not overcome the second obstacle, however: lack of quantifiable data on transportation. For medieval Cilician coastal locations, transportation connections between the coastal places

⁶⁶² See footnote 525.

and others further inland can only be partially considered. As will be demonstrated in 2.7 in this chapter, a more limited study area is justified by these limitations in the textual sources.

There is another problem that restricts the direct applicability of the above theories by Bird, Christaller and Rimmer: the unknown criteria applied to the depictions of the medieval Cilician coast on portolan charts. Quantifiable data contribute to the initial construction or eventual verification of such theories. Be it demographic data, volume of traffic or volume of export or import, these data serve as the quantitative basis and the criteria for defining the importance of a settlement. For the portolan charts, though historians agree that they are the result of experiences, the criteria for deciding if a location was important are unclear. This unclarity means that the portolan charts represent maps of important places but without any key to explain the factors accounting for their significance. Without knowledge of the causes of relative importance of a coastal place, it is then impossible to identify factors contributing to changes in relative importance of my selected locations. Without quantitative data for my period, these theoretical approaches discussed in 2.3 cannot be applied for their explanatory or predictive function. A different approach is needed to avoid the problematic translation of modern theories to an archaeological and historical context that is not possible to verify.⁶⁶³ Below, I will lay out a different approach to assessing the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia that is underpinned by two principles: thematic layers and time-depth.

⁶⁶³ G. Bailey, "Time Perspectivism: Origins and Consequences," in *Time in Archaeology: Time Perspectivism Revisited*, ed. S. Holdaway and L. Wandsnider (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2008), 20.

2.6 Deconstructing importance of places: thematic layers and time-depth

2.6.1 Thematic layers

The concept of thematic layers is the defining feature of the geographic information system (GIS) regarding information storage. With such thematic layers storing different categories of data, it is feasible to see the geospatial distribution of selected features, before attempting to evaluate relationships between different features. As shown in Figure 2-25 produced by D. Wheatley and M. Gillings, different layers contain different features, whether soil type, roads, Neolithic sites or administrative boundaries. Separating these features as different layers avoids conflating all information regarding an area, and consequently obscuring the uneven level of data for each feature on the same area.

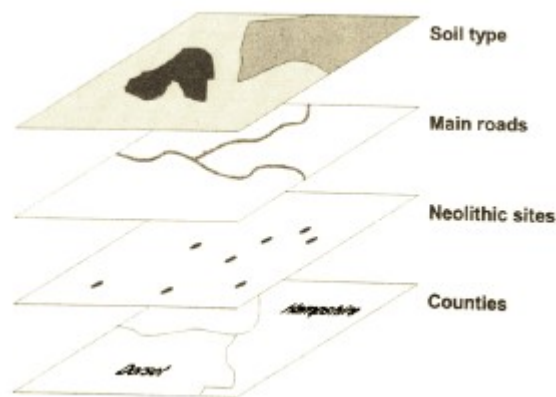


Figure 2-25. Thematic layers in GIS⁶⁶⁴

For medieval Cilician places, there are no systematic data with the same criteria for all places in the primary sources. I view these portolan charts as the result of unspecified but selected thematic information presented together, not a ‘complex totality’⁶⁶⁵ that conveys everything about the medieval Mediterranean. Conceptual thematic layers are thus suitable

⁶⁶⁴ D. Wheatley and M. Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archaeological Applications of GIS* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 22.

⁶⁶⁵ Wheatley and Gillings, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*, 21.

for recognising this uneven level of historical data for all places seen on the portolan charts. Treating each set of systematic data as a separate layer of information regarding several places recognises the uneven amount of historical information for all the places under examination. Such thematic layers are thus better than collating all types of historical information regarding every place in medieval Cilicia. By adopting the concept of thematic layers, I am filling the socio-economic contextual void seen on the portolan charts without extrapolating historical information on well-documented places for those others less well-documented in the primary sources.

2.6.2 Time-depth

Viewed together, the portolan handbooks provide instructions for navigating the maritime landscape along the Cilician coast. Differences among the portolan handbooks, however, are glossed over in historians' discussions on identifiable places and their role for sailing during the medieval period. Despite debate about the dating of some of the earlier portolan handbooks,⁶⁶⁶ I treat each portolan handbook text as a time-stamped sub-layer of information. Such an approach recognises and thus emphasises changes over time as seen in the portolan handbooks. The importance of temporality in examining geospatial phenomena has been emphasised by L. Wandsnider regarding the settlement studies around the Mediterranean.⁶⁶⁷ In lieu of definition of a settlement site, Wandsnider proposes recognising the multi-temporal scales involved for different processes producing materials found during surface surveys.⁶⁶⁸ In my analysis of portolan handbooks, the temporality will be important for a different reason. Recognising the primacy of space in these descriptions of medieval

⁶⁶⁶ For example, footnotes 808 and 809 below.

⁶⁶⁷ L. Wandsnider, "Artifact, Landscape, and Temporality in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeological Landscape Studies," in *Mediterranean Archaeological Landscapes: Current Issues*, ed. E. F. Athanassopoulos and L. Wandsnider (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2004), 69-79.

⁶⁶⁸ Wandsnider, "Artifact, Landscape, and Temporality," 74-75.

Mediterranean maritime landscapes, I here further argue for the necessity of considering the temporality of these portolan handbooks. I agree with G. Bailey that different timescales emphasise different variables for any geospatial phenomenon.⁶⁶⁹ And the most relevant methodological approach to temporality in portolan handbooks is the principle of time-depth.

The importance of time-depth for describing landscape has been demonstrated by the following scholars: J. Clark, J. Darlington and G. Fairclough;⁶⁷⁰ S. Turner;⁶⁷¹ S. Turner and J. Crow.⁶⁷² In these discussions, *historic landscape characterisation* is described as an approach that emphasises the time-depth when characterising or describing an area within the wider landscape. This approach was articulated by Historic England⁶⁷³ and has been applied by local authorities in England and Wales. It expands the previous sole focus on monuments and sites when planning applications are reviewed.⁶⁷⁴ This method is designed to assist local authorities in evaluating the impact of human activities on a landscape, taking account of its characteristics and past usages,⁶⁷⁵ instead of just individual monuments within it. Turner and Crow apply historic landscape characterisation to braided terraces in Naxos (in Greece)⁶⁷⁶ and coaxial fields in Silivri (in Turkey),⁶⁷⁷ and suggest potential interests in the spatial pattern of monuments and fields in these two areas. This approach to landscape recognises the changing human perception and use of a landscape over time, instead of viewing the landscapes as a neutral and static space.⁶⁷⁸ This human perception of a maritime landscape is important for my analysis of the portolan handbooks, as it ‘encompasses past experience,

⁶⁶⁹ Bailey, “Time Perspectivism,” 13.

⁶⁷⁰ J. Clark et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation: English Heritage’s Review of HLC Applications 2002-03* (London: English Heritage/Lancashire County Council, 2004).

⁶⁷¹ S. Turner, “Historic Landscape Characterisation: a landscape archaeology for research, management and planning,” *Landscape Research* 31, no. 4 (2006): 385-398.

⁶⁷² S. Turner and J. Crow, “Unlocking historic landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean: two pilot studies using Historic Landscape Characterisation,” *Antiquity* 84, no. 323 (2010): 216-229.

⁶⁷³ Turner, “Historic Landscape Characterisation,” 389-390.

⁶⁷⁴ Clark et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, 13.

⁶⁷⁵ Clark et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, 3 and 7.

⁶⁷⁶ Turner and Crow, “Unlocking historic landscapes,” 221-225.

⁶⁷⁷ Turner and Crow, “Unlocking historic landscapes,” 225-226.

⁶⁷⁸ Turner, “Historic Landscape Characterisation,” 386; Turner and Crow, “Unlocking historic landscapes,” 217.

knowledge, expectations and the socio-cultural context of individuals and groups'.⁶⁷⁹ I view these portolan handbooks as also revealing 'value structures or ideals of artistic composition on assessments of landscapes'.⁶⁸⁰ I agree with J. Kantner that 'a landscape comprises places that are only meaningfully constituted through human action in reference to them'.⁶⁸¹ As 'landscapes provide more information than can be used',⁶⁸² these portolan handbooks provide examples of different perceptions and assessments of the same maritime landscape. As these descriptions are not value-neutral, but the result of human responses to the environment⁶⁸³ regarding sailing and bearing, differences among portolan handbooks in their descriptions reveal changing assessments of the same medieval Cilician maritime landscape. This diversity of space depictions reflects 'changing perspectives of onlookers'.⁶⁸⁴ Understood thus, these portolan handbooks are not only important for what they report, but also for the ways in which they report it.⁶⁸⁵ While I agree that landscape perception is an interactive process between the human and the environmental elements,⁶⁸⁶ I here only focus on the human elements, i.e., the characterisations and assessments and the ways in which they changed over time. This emphasis on temporality of differences seen in the portolan handbooks also counters the tendency of focusing on pre-medieval period landscapes seen in the past archaeological field surveys.⁶⁸⁷ In light of this historic landscape characterisation approach, the portolan handbooks are no longer simple descriptions of the medieval Cilician coast, but annotations of maritime space along the coast. These annotations understandably

⁶⁷⁹ E. H. Zube et al., "Landscape perception: research, application and theory," *Landscape Planning* 9, no. 1 (1982): 3 and 8.

⁶⁸⁰ Zube et al., "Landscape perception," 5.

⁶⁸¹ J. Kantner, "The archaeology of regions: From discrete analytical toolkit to ubiquitous spatial perspective," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 16, no. 1 (2008): 58.

⁶⁸² Zube et al., "Landscape perception," 22.

⁶⁸³ Zube et al., "Landscape perception," 7-8.

⁶⁸⁴ M. Veikou, "Space in Texts and Space as Texts: A new approach to Byzantine notions," *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016): 149.

⁶⁸⁵ Zube et al., "Landscape perception," 23.

⁶⁸⁶ Zube et al., "Landscape perception," 24.

⁶⁸⁷ Turner and Crow, "Unlocking historic landscapes," 218.

changed over time and were selective of topographical features along the coast, because of changing usefulness of one area or another over time for the viewers. I do not argue here that the portolan handbooks are subjective in describing maritime landscape, but I emphasise the elements of assessment and judgement that led to the characterisation of selected landscape features enumerated in a portolan handbook. Thus, I do not aim to create a definitive map of landscape features for medieval Cilicia, but to highlight differences between these portolan handbooks. The differences are results of differing perceptions, i.e., as seen in the portolan handbooks, conceived by different people at different times and in different contexts, based on ‘the same materiality’,⁶⁸⁸ i.e., the Cilician coast. With this emphasis on time-depth of a landscape, I avoid being drawn into historical narrative textual sources that revolve around people and events along a continuous temporal axis, but not places. Instead, the primacy of space is maintained in my analysis of the portolan handbooks. As this approach emphasises past usages and perceptions of a landscape, the same area may be characterised differently over time.⁶⁸⁹

In medieval Cilicia, between 1200 and 1400, the maritime landscape probably did not change much, but the characterisation of selected topographical features for sailing did. Because of this emphasis on the time-depth aspect of an area regarding its past usages, these past usages or functions are not amalgamated as the essential property or character, of an area, but are viewed as indications of the said area for its function within a wider landscape. This approach also shifts the focus away from individual sites and monuments to the surrounding landscapes. This conceptual flexibility, in turn, facilitates better evaluation of portolan handbooks and avoids the issue of insufficient textual and archaeological data for many medieval Cilician coastal places. Combined with the concept of thematic layers above for

⁶⁸⁸ Turner, “Historic Landscape Characterisation,” 388-389.

⁶⁸⁹ Turner and Crow, “Unlocking historic landscapes,” 220.

storing information, I will tabulate the descriptions of selected topographical features of unidentifiable locations from different portolan handbooks.

In the portolan handbooks, various topographical features are often singled out and assigned a function, such as point of bearing or good anchorage. Even if these specified topographical features along the medieval Cilician coast found in the portolan handbooks do not constitute a continuous area along the coast, they at least provide topographical contexts surrounding these locations seen on the portolan charts. Separating the characterisations according to their dating results in a series of sub-layers showing changes in characterisations of the same medieval Cilician coast. It is this landscape context that I emphasise when interpreting the significance of specified topographical features found in the portolan handbooks. For examining the landscape features adjacent to places seen on the portolan charts, I do not include all the landscape features along the Cilician coast, but only those singled out by the portolan handbooks. The emphasis on the time-depth aspect of characterisations of an area also accords well with my replication of the historical accumulative process, resulting in the relative importance of medieval Cilician coastal locations. This replication is only possible in theory, as its results will be confirmed by or shown not to be in conformity with or will be contradicted by, the visual depictions on the portolan charts. In the case of confirmation, there will be a high likelihood that the relative importance of medieval Cilician coastal locations was influenced by the spatial organisation of certain landscape characterisations. In the case of non-conformity or contradiction, deciding factors for such importance will need to be identified elsewhere other than those discussed below. Though many such topographical features are not identifiable with a specific location, they are located between known places. These specified, yet unidentifiable, topographical features are important elements contributing to the relative importance of a place on the portolan charts. Examining these selected topographical features also addresses

the question of the unspecified criteria determining the relative significance of the coastal places in the portolan charts. Particularly, the functions assigned to selected topographical features, not just the natural or physical information of a topographical feature, will be tabulated from the portolan handbooks from different times. Though these features could be at best viewed as only contributing to the importance of a place, this identification and recording nevertheless list potential factors that were requisite for an important place. In addition, analysing these portolan handbooks is an opposite process of analysing the importance of these coastal locations from that based on archaeological data. The portolan handbooks evaluate navigability of the Cilician coast on a regional scale, instead of focusing on individual locations. For the purpose of my research, every portolan handbook is a systematic assessment of the medieval Cilician coast for sailing and is treated as such: a time-stamped systematic characterisation of the Cilician maritime landscape. This combined approach based on thematic layers and time-depth solves the problem of unidentifiable topographical features along the Cilician coast. Solving this vagueness in locating topographical features also overcomes the obstacle to systematically comparing the portolan handbooks. For historians, it is tempting to attribute a change in descriptions in the portolan handbooks to a particular historical event. The impossibility of doing so for every change inevitably results in cherry-picking information from the portolan handbooks. This cherry-picking renders the portolan handbooks a subsidiary primary source. Thus, it is informative to tabulate descriptions and characterisations of topographical features separately according to the dating, instead of collapsing them into one single compilation.

Below, I will create two major sets of thematic layers for two different geospatial patterns of human activities found in the primary sources. The first set is based on the witness list in 1198, naming barons from both Plain Cilicia and Rough Cilicia and the fortresses that each controlled. As will be discussed below, there is a distinct geospatial pattern of fortress

control in Rough Cilicia in this list. To assess the extent to which topography influenced such a pattern, I will measure the accessibility of selected locations in Rough Cilicia. As Palopoli is located in Rough Cilicia and also appears in the 1198 witness list, this examination will determine whether regional topographical features were decisive factors for the importance of Palopoli. The second set of thematic layers consists of maritime landscape characterisations found in the portolan handbooks. As the descriptions of similar Cilician places vary from one portolan handbook to another, I will compare five selected portolan handbooks. Based on this comparison, I will then discuss the changing importance of Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus as seen in these selected portolan charts.

2.7 Geospatial pattern of control over fortresses in Rough Cilicia⁶⁹⁰

My primary question for the geospatial pattern of fortress control in Rough Cilicia in 1198 is: was accessibility to these fortresses a significant factor for such a geospatial pattern? Below, I will first review the origin and significance of this witness list and the necessity for assessing topographical features for the geospatial pattern observed in it. I will then describe my source of topographical data, various analytical approaches and their limitations, identifying locations of these place-names and the GIS modelling to be undertaken. Finally, I will compare the geospatial pattern found in the witness list with results from my GIS modelling to determine whether accessibility as determined by the fortresses' surrounding topography was a significant factor for such a pattern.

⁶⁹⁰ My work in 2.7 would not have been possible but for the guidance and assistance of the following individuals: Dr. H. Chapman, Reader in Archaeology and Digital Humanities at the University of Birmingham; P. J. Gerrits, teaching assistant at the Koç University; Dr. P. Murgatroyd, Project and Modelling Manager at the University of Bradford; Dr. C. Roosevelt, Associate Professor of Archaeology at the Boston University and Director of the Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations.

2.7.1 Origin and significance of the 1198 witness list

In 1198, the Ērubenid baron Lewon was crowned king at Tarsus, in the presence of Cardinal Conrad of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz and the papal representative.⁶⁹¹ His coronation marked the papal recognition of the Armenian kingdom, after the Armenians had been vacillating between the Byzantine empire and the papacy on the question of church union. Though it is questioned whether the Armenian church abided by the papal stipulation regarding liturgy and theological positions, such a coronation carried political significance. Henceforth, the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia became diplomatically connected with the Crusaders in the East and the papacy in the West. On this occasion, local barons in southern Anatolia, dignitaries from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, and various representatives from the local religious communities and the Armenian church were also present. The names of these guests were recorded by Smbat the Constable (1208-1276) in the list of witnesses.⁶⁹² Despite observations made by S. J. Wilson regarding discrepancies in the list between two known manuscript traditions,⁶⁹³ I will rely on the witness list provided by G. Dédéyan because the latter had already noted such differences.⁶⁹⁴ As stated above, the list contains the names not just of local barons,⁶⁹⁵ but it is these local barons who are of interest here because they were associated with fortresses under their control in Cilicia. In Table 2-6, I list the local barons in the order found in the edition and translation by Dédéyan from the left of the table. I then switch to the right of the table, without breaking the order, when the places associated with the barons are located to the west of the Göksu river. In this list, there are two types of

⁶⁹¹ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 72-73.

⁶⁹² Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 74-80.

⁶⁹³ S. J. Wilson, "The Latin principality of Antioch and its relationship with the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, 1188-1268" (PhD diss., Nottingham Trent University, 2016), 194.

⁶⁹⁴ For example, Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 79, footnote 63.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. footnote 692.

control over fortresses: some barons controlled one fortress each while other barons controlled a group of fortresses at a time.

Table 2-6. Barons among the witnesses to the 1198 coronation⁶⁹⁶

Name of baron	Place-name	Name of baron	Place-name
Adam	Baghrās	Kostanc´	Seleph ⁶⁹⁷
Hostius	Čker		Punar
Arewgoyn	Hamus	Řomanos	Sinit
Smbat	Sarvandik´ar		Kovas
Lewon	Harun	Nikifawř	Vēt
Siruhi	Simanayklay		Vērask
Henri	Anē	Xrsawfawř	Lavzat
Apllarip the constable	Kutaf		Timitupawlis
Baudoin	Ėnkuzut		Maniawn
Estève	T´ornika	Halkam	Lamaws
Lewon and Grigor	Berdus		Žermanik
Ašot	Kanč´		Anamur
Apllarip	Fawřnaws	Henri the sebastos	Norberd
Tancrède	Kapan		Komardias
Kostandin	Čanči	Baudoin	Andawšc
Geoffroy	Šołakan		Kupa
Simon	Mazot Xač´		Mařva
Robert	T´il	Kersak	Sik
T´oros	T´lsap		Palapawl
Vasil the marshal	Vaner	Mixayl	Manovlat
Gēorg	Barjrberd		Alar
Kostandin	Kopitař	Kostandin and Nikifawř	Lakrawēn
Ažaros	Mawlovon		Kalawnawřaws
Smbat	Kuklak	Kervard	Ayžutap
Het´um	Lambrun		Sainte-Sophie
Šahinšah	Lulwa		Nallawn
Bakuran	Papeřawn		
Vasak	Askurās		
Het´um	Manaš		
Mixayl	Berdak		
Tigran	Prakana		
Awšin	Siwil		
Simon	Kiwřikos		

R. W. Edwards observes that no known large fortifications, such as Anavarza, Sis and Vahka, are included in this list and concludes that this list includes locations not under direct

⁶⁹⁶ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 75-80.

⁶⁹⁷ I used ‘Seleph’, instead of ‘Séleucie’ used by Dédéyan.

control of Lewon I.⁶⁹⁸ There is another hitherto overlooked geospatial aspect to this partial witness list. In Table 2-6, those barons controlling more than one fortress were all based in Rough Cilicia. With the exception of Lakrawēn, still unidentified, all barons in Rough Cilicia controlled at least two fortresses at a time. Coincidentally, none of these Rough Cilician fortresses is located to the east of the Tece-Arslanköy line in the modern province of Mersin. This is a dividing line identified by Edwards between two architectural styles: features attributable to the Armenians are consistently found at fortifications to the east of this line.⁶⁹⁹ Because of this observation, Edwards focuses on those fortresses mainly situated in Plain Cilicia. As the witness list demonstrates a concentrated presence of group control in Rough Cilicia, I am thus unable to benefit from Edwards' survey to explore the factors influencing such a control pattern in Rough Cilicia. Palapawl (Palopoli), a location that became important on fifteenth-century portolan charts, was controlled by Keṛsak who also controlled Sik and Maṭva in 1198. Such a geospatial distribution in the witness list then offers a glimpse into geospatial patterns of fortress control in medieval Cilicia. There is no such systematic enumeration of fortresses control for Rough Cilicia before or since. Since textual sources do not reveal much direct information these local barons in Rough Cilicia, it is not possible to hypothesise the potential influence of socio-economic factors over such a control pattern. Lack of systematic archaeological data regarding Rough Cilicia for the medieval period⁷⁰⁰ also precludes attempts to hypothesise potential influences of settlement or economic activities in the region. As other evidence regarding the built environment is lacking, topography becomes the only factor available for systematic examination.

⁶⁹⁸ R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 280.

⁶⁹⁹ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 49-50.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. 2.4.

Topography remains one aspect of historical landscape that could be more reliably reconstructed, with the exception of some long-term changes, e.g., erosion.⁷⁰¹ Being aware that topography was not the sole factor affecting movement through historical landscape, I nevertheless view the geospatial pattern observed in the witness list as an opportunity to test the extent to which topography influenced the baronial control over different fortresses. Considering the topographical features and their potential impact on this geospatial organisation highlights the potential influence of natural environment over human control of the built environment. It is worth noting, however, the human responses to the natural environment when a fortification was built or re-occupied. In his survey of 75 fortifications discussed by Edwards, only 44 conform to the ‘paradigms for Armenian fortifications in Cilicia’ while 14 contain remains from earlier non-Armenian periods.⁷⁰² In other words, some of these 75 fortifications, classified as being Armenian by Edwards, contain evidence of recycled building materials. For those fortifications in Rough Cilicia, which are not included in Edwards’ survey, the availability of building materials or fortifications built during the Byzantine times, Late Antiquity or Antiquity should also be counted as a factor in the siting of a fortification that was occupied and used during the medieval period. Before outlining the process for examining potential impact of topography, I here address two concerns, one practical and the other conceptual.

2.7.2 Two limitations on evaluating the impact of topography

The first limitation concerns the failure to identify with reasonable accuracy all the medieval place-names with modern locations. On identifying their location, there have been

⁷⁰¹ T. Bell et al., “Tracking the Samnites: landscape and communications routes in the Sangro Valley, Italy,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 106, no. 2 (2002): 174.

⁷⁰² Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 27-33.

efforts by T. S. R. Boase,⁷⁰³ Dédéyan,⁷⁰⁴ Edwards,⁷⁰⁵ H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild,⁷⁰⁶ and Hild and Hellenkemper.⁷⁰⁷ Those by Edwards are the most rigorous, as he carried out field surveys to all the sites he discusses. Since his systematic examination does not cover all the Rough Cilician fortresses from this witness list, I resort to works by the others listed above. In particular, compilations by Hild and Hellenkemper regarding Cilicia and its neighbouring regions remain the most comprehensive source of information regarding these locations in Rough Cilicia.⁷⁰⁸ Despite their visits to many locations in these three regions, there remain place-names whose locations are still conjectural. This ambiguity for some place-names is inevitable considering the geographical scope of Hild and Hellenkemper's compilations. Including these ambiguities is necessary for my examination, but I will reduce the level of these ambiguities by reducing the study area below.

Examining the potential impact of topography is only a preliminary step in addressing the changes seen on the medieval portolan charts. Regardless of the question whether my attempt produces positive or negative results, the results will provide a viable analytical approach for further research on coastal locations in medieval Cilicia. There is a limitation of my analytical approach here, however. This limitation concerns the extent to which the topography had an impact on these geospatial patterns.

Identifying the potential impact of topography upon geospatial organisation of local defence assigns significance to the natural environment in explaining patterns of human control. This significance of the natural environment in my analysis should not be confused

⁷⁰³ T. S. R. Boase, "Gazetteer," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T. S. R. Boase (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), 145-185.

⁷⁰⁴ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 75-80.

⁷⁰⁵ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 279-280. R. W. Edwards, "Settlements and Toponymy in Armenian Cilicia," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 24 (1993): 181-249.

⁷⁰⁶ H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Band 8, Lykien und Pamphylien*. 3 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004).

⁷⁰⁷ F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Band 5, Kilikien und Isaurien*. 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990).

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. footnotes 706 and 707.

with natural environment being the exclusive factor shaping this geospatial control pattern. I emphasise its hypothetical significance, but not its exclusive impact, to avoid the risk of environmental determinism and neglecting human agency that also contributed to such a geospatial pattern. I agree with V. Gaffney that material remains of human activities are not only influenced by the natural environment, but also by previous cultural practices and significance assigned by past people to certain landscape features or monuments.⁷⁰⁹ I disagree, however, with his critique of inadequacy in the dataset available to GIS modelling seen in many analyses carried out by GIS practitioners.⁷¹⁰ As the GIS consists of more than thematic layers for information storage, other functions such as watershed or viewshed analyses⁷¹¹ make the GIS software appealing to archaeologists and historians regarding past geospatial phenomena. It is true that such modelling relies on quantifiable data or well-defined datasets regarding past built environment phenomena. The access to quantifiable data on the natural environment, e.g., drainage area, elevation or slope, is more readily available than that to unquantifiable data regarding both the natural and human environment, e.g., the sanctity of a location or a building or routes of pilgrimage. It is thus easier to verify hypotheses regarding correlation between a natural environmental attribute and past human activities than to adopt the same approach regarding past cultural practices and their impact on archaeological remains. Therefore, any GIS modelling is inherently limited by insufficient data particularly on past cultural practices and the latter's influence on archaeological remains.

The insistence on adequate archaeological data before carrying out GIS modelling will lead to intractable problems, however: questions touching on aspects not in the design of original data collection can surface later; criteria for measuring a past cultural practice are yet

⁷⁰⁹ V. Gaffney and M. van Leusen, "Postscript-GIS, environmental determinism and archaeology: a parallel text," in *Archaeology and Geographical Information Systems: A European Perspective*, ed. G. Lock and Z. Stančić (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995), 377.

⁷¹⁰ Gaffney and van Leusen, "GIS, environmental determinism and archaeology," 373.

⁷¹¹ Kantner, "The archaeology of regions," 49.

be agreed on between archaeologists or historians or both; despoliation or destruction of potential sites and remains complicate the previous three problems. Therefore, inadequacy of archaeological data is a perennial problem for any GIS modelling. On this inadequacy critique by Gaffney, I agree with M. van Leusen that problems lie with the users of GIS modelling, not with the GIS modelling itself.⁷¹² I resort to GIS modelling to determine the extent to which topography is a factor for the geospatial pattern in this defence organisation. I do not view my choice as implying the sole influence of the natural environment over human behaviours.⁷¹³ In doing so, I do not aim to improve criteria for data collection and definition of various features, but to use the GIS modelling based on currently available geospatial data. In other words, I do not mistake the precision provided by the GIS modelling for accuracy of the findings subsequently produced.⁷¹⁴

Since this partial witness list reflects a geospatial organisation in 1198 not seen in Plain Cilicia, there may be cultural or environmental factors in the preceding periods that contributed to such an organisation. Or there may be other factors during the same period, i.e., in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that are invisible in the primary sources. These possibilities, however, do not preclude my ‘data cleaning’, eliminating irrelevant natural environmental factors⁷¹⁵ for a geospatial phenomenon. In addition, lack of relevant archaeological and even textual data for these fortresses is the initial impetus for my recourse to GIS modelling. Mindful of Gaffney’s warning, I limit my GIS modelling below to verifying my hypothesis regarding a smaller area. Though Gaffney also notes the ambiguity of ‘site’ as a designation for GIS modelling based on the locations of sites,⁷¹⁶ his concern is

⁷¹² Gaffney and van Leusen, “GIS, environmental determinism and archaeology,” 371.

⁷¹³ Gaffney and van Leusen, “GIS, environmental determinism and archaeology,” 367.

⁷¹⁴ Kantner, “The archaeology of regions,” 51.

⁷¹⁵ ‘Data cleaning’ is suggested by M. van Leusen as a function of GIS modelling although he acknowledges that he does not know of any such attempt; V. Gaffney is sceptical of this purpose. Gaffney and van Leusen, “GIS, environmental determinism and archaeology,” 370 and 375.

⁷¹⁶ Gaffney and van Leusen, “GIS, environmental determinism and archaeology,” 373.

not relevant here. Using locations of these fortresses in Rough Cilicia for GIS modelling is justified because this witness list does not emphasise, for instance, the sanctity of these places, nor does it suggest the size of settlements around these fortresses. There is one cultural factor, however, defining the perimeter of the modelling: these Rough Cilician fortifications selected for modelling do not exhibit architectural features attributable to the Armenians.⁷¹⁷ The concern over lack of human agency regarding the medieval Cilician maritime landscape will be addressed in the next section of this chapter, in which I compare the characterisations of historical landscapes found in the portolan handbooks. Therefore, I do not address here the question of human agency regarding the geospatial organisation of control over fortresses in Rough Cilicia.

2.7.3 Locating place-names

In Table 2-7, I provide identification of place-names on the witness list with modern locations, by consulting the following scholars' works: Dédéyan; Hellenkemper and Hild; Hild and Hellenkemper. For many cases, the potential location could only be assigned to a modern administrative unit, but not to a precise location. In these cases, I considered its position relative to known locations.

⁷¹⁷ Cf. footnote 699. For a detailed discussion of these features that are attributable to the Armenians, cf. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 10-17 (The Characteristics of Armenian Fortifications: Twenty Distinctive Features) and 24-27 (A Typology for Armenian Military Architecture).

Table 2-7. Identification of place-names in Rough Cilicia

Name of baron	Place-name	Location
Kostanc'	Seleph	Silifke Kalesi, Mersin ⁷¹⁸
	Punar	Possibly Örenpınar, Mersin ⁷¹⁹
Řomanos	Sinit	Around 20 km north of Ermenek, Karaman ⁷²⁰
	Kovas	On the Göksu river between Karaman, Karaman and Mut, Mersin ⁷²¹
Nikifawr	Vēt	Some 61 km north-northwest from Anamur ⁷²²
	Vērāsk	Göktepe, Karaman ⁷²³
Xrsawfawr	Lavzat	Başyayla, Karaman ⁷²⁴
	Timitupawlis	Katranlı, Karaman ⁷²⁵
Halkam	Maniawn	Mennan Kalesi, Karaman ⁷²⁶
	Lamaws	Adanda Kalesi, Antalya ⁷²⁷
	Žermanik	Ermenek Kalesi, Karaman ⁷²⁸
	Anamur	Anamur, Mersin ⁷²⁹
Henri the sebastos	Norberd	Possibly Tokmar Kalesi, Mersin ⁷³⁰
	Komardias	Yeşilovacık, Mersin; 29 km southwest from Silifke ⁷³¹
Baudoin	Andawšc	Near Güney Köy, Antalya ⁷³²
	Kupa	Exact location unknown in western Cilicia, possibly Gazipaşa, Antalya ⁷³³
Kersak	Małva	Mavga Kalesi, Mersin ⁷³⁴
	Sik	Softa Kalesi, Mersin ⁷³⁵
	Palapawl	Aydıncık, Mersin ⁷³⁶

⁷¹⁸ Edwards, "Settlements and Toponymy in Armenian Cilicia," 241; Naval Staff, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*. Vol. III, Part 3, 150

⁷¹⁹ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 386-387.

⁷²⁰ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 79 footnote 63.

⁷²¹ Although Hild and Hellenkemper feel that 'Kolbasa' is a possibility, this location is in the modern province of Burdur and is unlikely to be the Kovas in the witness list. I thus follow the identification by S. N. Yıldız for this location. Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vol. 2, 647; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 322; S. N. Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician frontier: Armenians, Latins, and Turks in conflict and alliance during the early thirteenth century," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. F. Curta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 97.

⁷²² Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 455.

⁷²³ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 377.

⁷²⁴ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 332.

⁷²⁵ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 242. Because the built environment is said to have taken the place of the remains, I use the location of the village of Katranlı, Karaman.

⁷²⁶ Edwards, "Settlements and Toponymy in Armenian Cilicia," 239. Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 341.

⁷²⁷ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 331.

⁷²⁸ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 258-259.

⁷²⁹ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 187-191.

⁷³⁰ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 367.

⁷³¹ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 309.

⁷³² R. E. Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns of the Cast Lands of Western Rough Cilicia* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 56; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 191-193

⁷³³ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 325.

⁷³⁴ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 338.

⁷³⁵ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 421-423.

⁷³⁶ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 298.

Mixayl	Manovlat	Zindan Kalesi, Antalya ⁷³⁷
	Alar	Alara Kalesi, Antalya ⁷³⁸
Kervard	Kalawnawraws	Alanya Kalesi, Antalya ⁷³⁹
	Ayžutap	Aydap İskelesi, Antalya ⁷⁴⁰
	Sainte-Sophie	Gündoğmuş, Antalya ⁷⁴¹
	Naławwn	Possibly Mahmutlar, Antalya ⁷⁴²

⁷³⁷ Dédéyan, citing L. M. Alishan, thinks of it as being on the left bank. Alishan describes the fortress, on the left bank, as being on the other side of the river from the city. Pîrî Reis, in 1521, mentioned a ruined castle as standing in front of the city, while the river ran to the east of the castle. This description puts this ruined castle on the right side of the river. Assuming that the river has not changed course in relation to the castle, I use Zindan Kalesi, on the right bank, as the location for the purpose of my examination here. L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan: Ou L'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice: S. Lazare, 1899), 367; Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 80 footnote 70; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vol. 2, 710-711; Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 4, 1607.

⁷³⁸ Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vol. 2, 431-432.

⁷³⁹ Dédéyan, *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, 80, footnote 72; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vol. 2, 587-594.

⁷⁴⁰ Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns*, 26; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 275-276.

⁷⁴¹ Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vol. 2, 648-650; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 76.

⁷⁴² Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*. Vol. 2, 703; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*. Vol. 1, 320-321.

For each location in Table 2-7, I placed a mark on a map generated in the GIS software ArcGIS. (Cf. 2.7.4.1 below.) The maps provided by Hild and Hellenkemper regarding Cilicia indicate the relative position of historical place-names to contour lines, thus reducing the spatial margin of error resulting from relying on textual sources. I then produced a map of these locations illustrating control over fortresses by different barons in Figure 2-26.

For clarity, I assigned the same label to those fortresses controlled by the same baron, in the legend in Figure 2-26 and did not add the values of elevation from the sea level. Since there are ten barons, there are ten groups of fortresses in Figure 2-26. Among these ten groups of fortresses, there are three types of geospatial control. For the first type, locations controlled by the same baron are closer to each other than to any location from outside the group, e.g., those controlled by Nikifawī: Vērask and Vēt, with pentagonal marks. For the second type, a group contains at least one location that is closer to an out-of-group location while there is no out-of-group location between this group of locations, e.g., those controlled by Halkam. There is no out-of-group location within the polygonal area created by Anamur, Lamaws, Maniawn and Žermanik, but Lamaws is closer to Andawšc, controlled by another baron, than to other locations in its own group. The group including Palapawl controlled by Keřsak is the third type. Not only does this group consist of at least one location that is closer to an out-of-group location than to those in-group, but also an out-of-group location is found within the polygonal area created by the three locations. In this group, Sik is closer to Anamur than to other locations in its own group and Punar, an out-of-group location controlled by Kostanc', is located within the triangular area of Małva, Palapawl and Sik. Unlike the previous two types, notional horizontal distance, i.e., Euclidean distance, between these three locations does not appear to be a viable explanation. While I do not argue that Euclidean distance is a sufficient condition for the first two types, I emphasise that such

distance, is not even a necessary condition for the geospatial pattern regarding this third type: Malva, Palapawl and Sik.

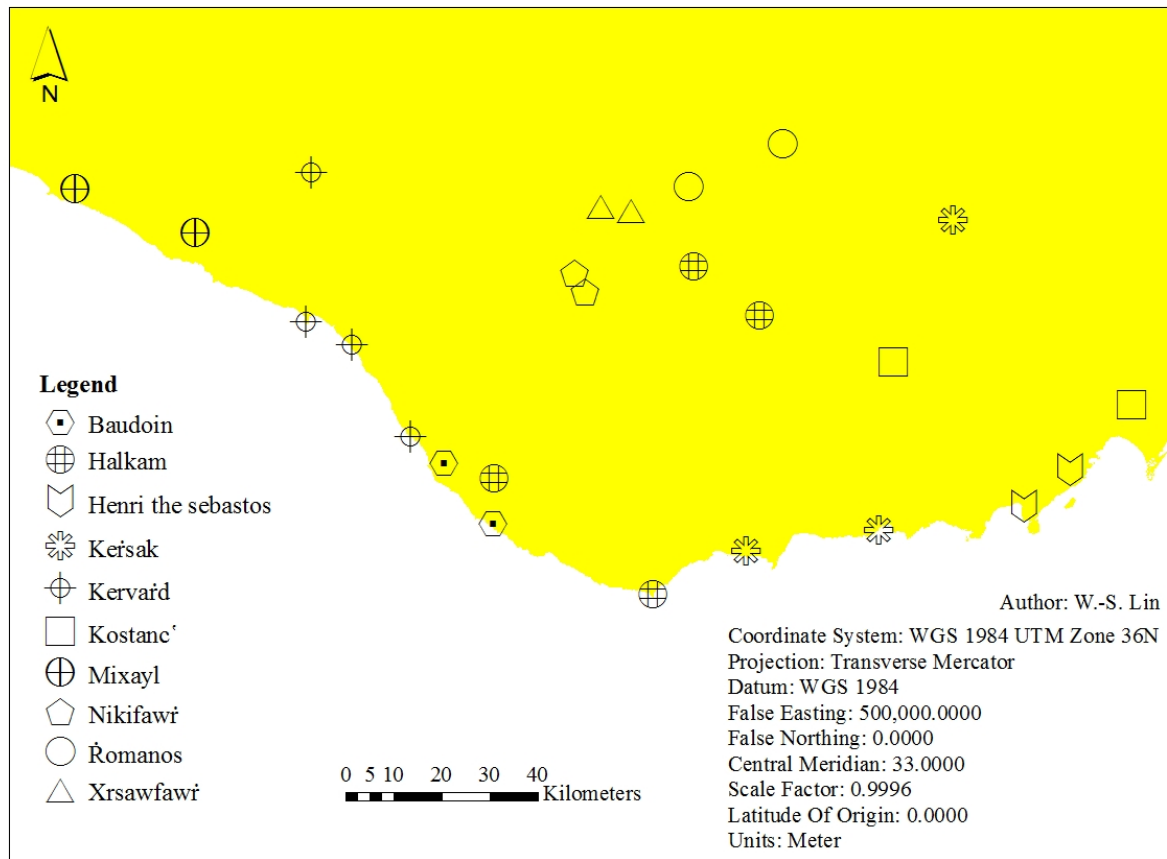


Figure 2-26. Baronial control over fortresses in Rough Cilicia in 1198

To measure the significance of topography for such a geospatial pattern, I limited the study area to those fortresses in groupings not explicable by Euclidean distance, producing the map in Figure 2-27.

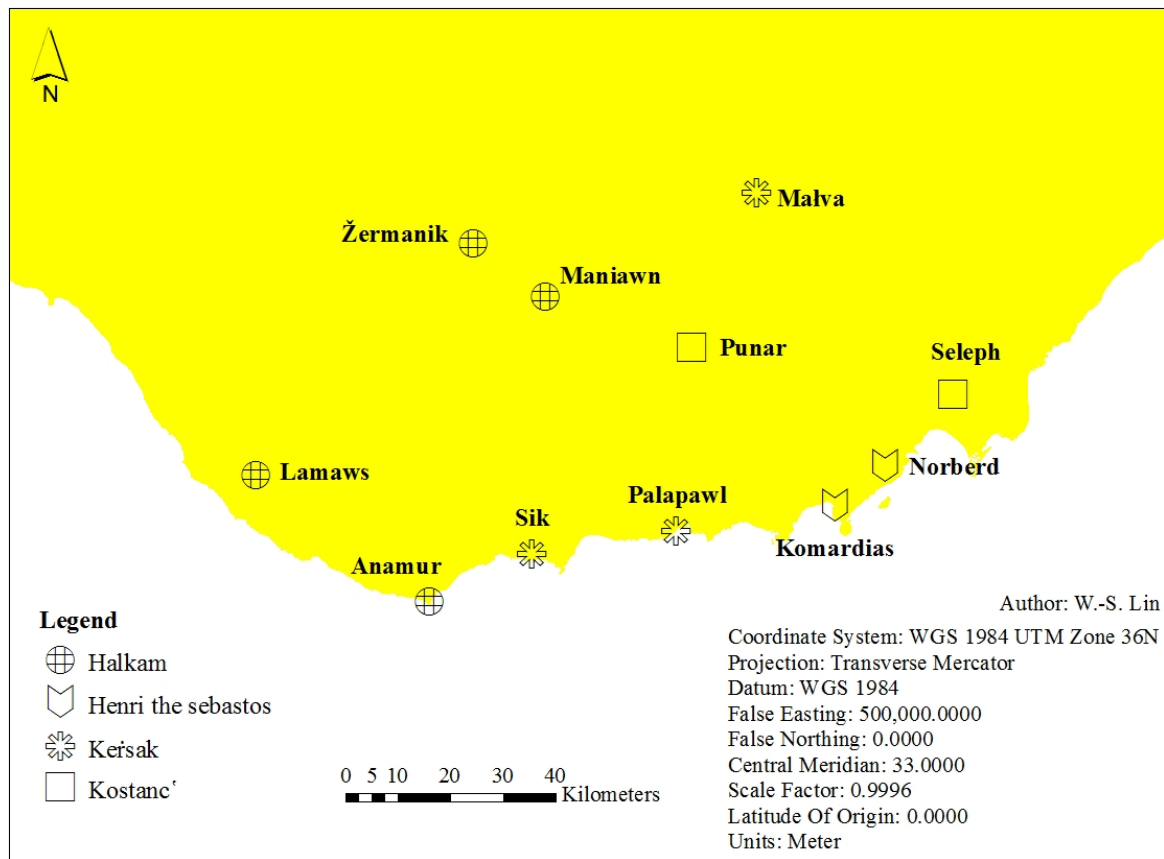


Figure 2-27. Selected fortresses for testing

For testing, I include only four groups of fortresses: those controlled by Halkam (Anamur and Maniawn, but not Lamaws or Žermanik), Henri the sebastos (Komardias and Norberd) and Kersak (Malva, Palapawl and Sik) and Kostanc' (Punar and Seleph). By limiting the study area, I eliminate many locations, e.g., Kovas, Sinit and Vēt, that can only be identified by their relative position to other known locations. These unidentified places represent uncertainty that will complicate testing. Since my focus is on Palapawl (Palopoli), these other unidentified places can be safely discarded for testing since none of them is within the area that is to be tested. Anamur and Maniawn, two of the four fortresses controlled by Halkam, are included because they are on the outer edge of the area encompassing the other three groups.

In Figure 2-28, I produced polygons with these nine selected places as the centres. These polygons are called Thiessen polygons, produced from a tessellation process that divides an area into constituent tiles with no gap in between the tiles.⁷⁴³ Since these polygons are created with consideration of only the Euclidean distance, all the points within one polygon are closer to the centre of the polygon than to the centre in another polygon. This approach, based on the Euclidean distance, ignores the contents of space within each polygon.⁷⁴⁴ To consider just one important content, i.e., elevation, of the space enclosed by each of these nine polygons, I placed the layer of Thiessen polygons on top of a digital elevation map, reclassified with six ranges of value, while those values below zero, i.e., the sea level, were deleted. The lighter the colour, the higher the elevation. (For the acquisition and processing of the digital elevation model, cf. 2.7.4.1.) As I only focus on nine selected places in Rough Cilicia, Curcus, not in Rough Cilicia but not far away from Seleph to the northeast, is not included when I created these Thiessen polygons. Therefore, there is no limit to the northeastern side of polygons centring on Maľva and Seleph. (Cf. Figure 2-28.) Below, I will examine the differences between the polygons created without considering elevation, i.e., based on Euclidean distance between these nine places and those contour lines created by taking account of topography in the region. Since this comparison will only illustrate the impact of topography on traversing the landscape from these nine places, I will examine the changes of areas between these nine places. Areas to the northeast of Seleph and of Maľva will be ignored.

⁷⁴³ J. Conolly and M. Lake, *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 211-212.

⁷⁴⁴ Conolly and Lake, *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*, 209.

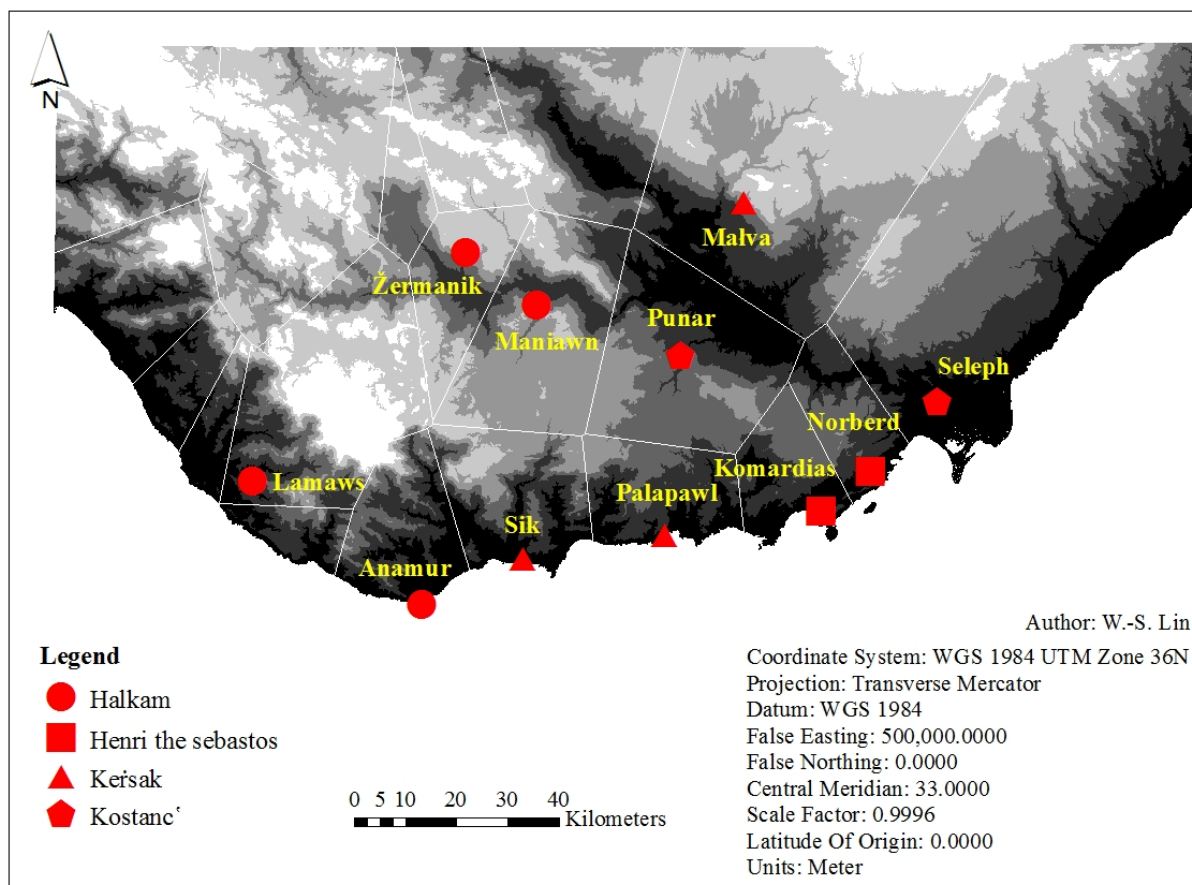


Figure 2-28. Selected nine places in Rough Cilicia

2.7.4 GIS modelling: calculating cost of traversing the landscape

GIS modelling is a feasible approach when existing primary sources, both in historical texts and archaeological data, are not adequate to explain a geospatial pattern. Such modelling is only as good as the data being put into it. For the above geospatial pattern regarding control over nine Rough Cilician fortresses, I hypothesise that topography influenced such groupings. In particular, the topography influenced the travel time from one location to another among these nine locations. Assessing the impact of topography on these locations' accessibility will also supplement our understanding about these Rough Cilician fortifications, as such an assessment has not been attempted.

Among various types of GIS software, I chose the proprietary ArcGIS 10.4 designed by Esri. The data for the elevation of the study area shown in Figure 2-28 are stored in raster

form in a digital elevation model (DEM) produced from the radar data collected by the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM).⁷⁴⁵ A raster dataset consists of pixels storing information on elevation of the area.⁷⁴⁶ The smaller the area a pixel covers, the more realistic the whole raster dataset is. Thus, the higher the resolution, the more detailed a raster dataset, because more raster cells or pixels, cover the same area. Each raster cell contains a value for elevation. The cost of traversing a landscape is then calculated based on the values contained in the raster dataset covering the said landscape. In addition to the cost of access to such datasets, some being open-access while others require varying fees, the resolution and accuracy of a digital elevation model is paramount to any GIS modelling. I chose a digital elevation model with a resolution at 30 metres (cf. 2.7.4.1), because there is no significant difference between 30-metre resolution and those of higher resolution.⁷⁴⁷ Although an area of 30 by 30 metres is too big a unit for the internal topography of a fortress, this resolution is detailed enough for the purpose of examining the topography between these nine places.

Had these nine places been on an isotropic plain, the Euclidean distances radiating from these nine places would be the only deciding factor, producing the areas of control by these fortresses similar to those seen in Figure 2-28, demarcated with white lines. On this hypothetical landscape, the isochrones of travel time from a location will be concentric circles nearer the centre. On an actual landscape, such isochrones will not be concentric circles around a centre. Such modelling for surrounding areas measured by travel time has also been used to demarcate site catchment, an area within which natural resources could be accessed by inhabitants of a site within a certain amount of time. The impact of topography on control pattern exercised by the local barons over these fortresses can be seen in its

⁷⁴⁵ It is an international project launched in 2000 involving the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA).

⁷⁴⁶ Conolly and Lake, *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*, 27-28.

⁷⁴⁷ A. Schild, "Archaeological Least Cost Path Modeling: A Behavioral Study of Middle Bronze Age Merchant Travel Routes Across the Amanus Mountains, Turkey" (MA diss., University of Southern California, 2015), 16.

influence on travel time between these places. I here hypothesise that those fortresses controlled by the same baron are closer to each other in terms of travel time than to those controlled by other barons. To calculate the travel time from these places, it is necessary to calculate ‘the costs’ of moving through the landscape. To calculate such costs, various features of topography need to be taken into account.

A DEM provides information on elevation within a selected area, a ‘digital representation of continuous changes of relief within space’.⁷⁴⁸ Based on the DEM, other properties of the landscape, e.g., slope, can be produced. Human movement over a landscape, however, is influenced by factors more than the elevations and slopes encountered on the way.⁷⁴⁹ For the purpose of my modelling, I will only calculate the cost of movement through walking. Even with walking, there are various factors that could influence the movement, e.g., the weight of the person in question or the weight transported by the said person. The more factors the calculation includes, the more realistic the results can be.

Directions of movement over the same terrain should also be taken into account. This is required because the difficulty, i.e., the cost, changes if the direction of travel over the same terrain is different.⁷⁵⁰ If every raster cell is assigned a set cost regardless of the direction of movement, the favoured route will be long and circuitous movements through consistently flat areas that minimises vertical movement.⁷⁵¹ This isotropic movement does not consider the changing cost for different angles of scaling the same slope. To include the costs of vertical movement in the calculation, ArcGIS 10.4 lets users define a ‘vertical factor’ that

⁷⁴⁸ V. Gaffney and Z. Stančič, *GIS Approaches to Regional Analysis: A Case Study of the Island of Hvar* (Ljubljana: Research Institute Faculty of Arts and Science University of Ljubljana, 1991), 13, accessed 8 May 2017, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/200459098_GIS_Approaches_to_Regional_Analysis_A_Case_Study_of_the_Island_of_Hvar.

⁷⁴⁹ J. Kantner, “Realism, reality, and routes: Evaluating cost-surface and cost-path algorithms,” in *Least Cost Analysis of Social Landscapes: Archaeological Case Studies*, ed. D. A. White and S. L. Surface-Evans (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2012), 228.

⁷⁵⁰ Bell et al., “Tracking the Samnites,” 176-177.

⁷⁵¹ Kantner, “Realism, reality, and routes,” 231.

gives varying weighting to different angles of movement,⁷⁵² thus simulating anisotropic movements. To assign weighting to various angles of movement, there are various methods taking these anisotropic movements into account.⁷⁵³ Out of these methods, two have been applied to calculating the ‘least-cost path’ on the Cilician terrains. The first is W. Tobler’s hiking function. The second is that developed by T. Bell, A. Wilson and A. Wickham.⁷⁵⁴ Based on military marching data,⁷⁵⁵ Tobler’s hiking function was used by A. Schild in calculating least-cost paths between selected sites during the Middle Bronze Age on both sides of the Amanus Mountains,⁷⁵⁶ which separate Cilicia from Syria. Tobler’s hiking function measures walking velocity in kilometre(s) per hour.⁷⁵⁷ For this function to provide a vertical factor for ArcGIS, N. Tripcevich generated the vertical factor by using the reciprocal of Tobler’s hiking function:

$$\text{time (hours) to cross 1 metre or the reciprocal of metres per hour} = \\ 0.000166666 * (\text{EXP}(3.5 * (\text{ABS}(\text{TAN}(\text{RADIANS}(\text{slope_deg})) + 0.05))))^{758}$$

Building on work by V. Gaffney and Z. Stančič taking slope into account,⁷⁵⁹ Bell, Wilson and Wickham developed a different function measuring the impact of angle change in movement on energy expenditure amongst the Samnites and Roman settlements in the Sangro Valley (Italy).⁷⁶⁰ This function by Bell, Wilson and Wickham has been adopted by P.

⁷⁵² Kantner, “Realism, reality, and routes,” 229.

⁷⁵³ Kantner, “Geographical approaches,” 325-327.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. footnote 750.

⁷⁵⁵ W. Tobler, *Three Presentations on Geographical Analysis and Modeling* (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California at Santa Barbara, 1993), page two [no page number].

⁷⁵⁶ Schild, “Archaeological Least Cost Path Modeling,” 26-27.

⁷⁵⁷ Kantner, “Geographical approaches,” 327.

⁷⁵⁸ N. Tripcevich, “Cost Distance Analysis,” accessed 16 May 2017, <http://mapaspects.org/node/3744>.

⁷⁵⁹ Gaffney and Stančič, *GIS Approaches to Regional Analysis*, 37-38.

⁷⁶⁰ Bell et al., “Tracking the Samnites,” 179-185.

Bikoulis⁷⁶¹ and J. M. L. Newhard, N. Levine and A. Rutherford ~~et al.~~,⁷⁶² both regarding sites in the Göksu valley in Rough Cilicia. Bikoulis focuses on the least-cost pathways generated for sites dated to the Late Chalcolithic through to the end of the Early Bronze Age (c.4200-2000 BC) and measures the connectivity of these sites using network analysis.⁷⁶³ The impetus to the modelling by Newhard, Levine and Rutherford is the newly discovered site Çömlek Tepesi in the Göksu valley in 2004 and its non-aligned position on the previously assumed route from the coast to the Anatolian plateau during the Early Bronze Age.⁷⁶⁴ Using the material connection between the obsidian finds further down the Göksu valley and the Nenezi Dağ, a known obsidian source on the Anatolian plateau, Newhard, Levine and Rutherford calculated the least-cost pathway from the Cilician coast and the Nenezi Dağ.⁷⁶⁵ For my testing, however, because there are no archaeological data or examples in the textual sources indicating an inland place influencing or controlling the coastal Cilician places during the medieval period, there are no points of origin and destination as required by least-cost pathway identification for the place-names mentioned in the medieval portolan charts. Therefore, I will only calculate the travel time from the nine selected locations, but not to any particular destination.

In addition to the elevation and direction of movements, there are other factors that could influence movements through a landscape. The most elaborate function devised to calculate such costs of traversing a landscape to date is that of A. Duggan and M. F. Haisman, taking into account weight of the person, load carried by the said person, the terrain and

⁷⁶¹ P. Bikoulis, "Revisiting prehistoric sites in the Göksu valley: a GIS and social network approach," *Anatolian Studies* 62 (2012): 55.

⁷⁶² J. M. L. Newhard et al., "Least-cost pathway analysis and inter-regional interaction in the Göksu valley, Turkey," *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008): 93-95.

⁷⁶³ Bikoulis, "Revisiting prehistoric sites in the Göksu valley," 43-54.

⁷⁶⁴ Newhard et al., "Least-cost pathway analysis and inter-regional interaction," 90.

⁷⁶⁵ Newhard et al., "Least-cost pathway analysis and inter-regional interaction," 91.

walking speed.⁷⁶⁶ This function developed by Duggan and Haisman focuses on energy expenditure, which is not suitable for my case. Although energy expenditure and travel time are both viable measures of cost in traversing a landscape, energy expenditure is a better measure if a person is travelling to transport or collect food.⁷⁶⁷ In addition, to calculate energy expenditure, most variables⁷⁶⁸ are not known for my study area and time period. Thus, I chose here just to include the elevation of the area and the resultant slopes of each point in the dataset. With the same rationale, I chose Tobler's hiking function to simulate anisotropic movements to measure travel time, not energy expenditure.

Based on the elevation data of Rough Cilicia, I will produce costs of traversing the landscape from these nine places that provide a scale of relative costs of movements through the landscape. Taking account of topography will also provide insight into the different areal coverage for these places within a specified travel time, different from the Thiessen polygons produced in Figure 2-28. These areas indicating travel time from the nine places will then show if these places are closer to each other based on travel time and if the resultant grouping of places based on travel time correspond to those groupings shown in the witness list.

2.7.4.1 Data acquisition, processing and calculating cost

In 2.7.3, I compiled the locations of Rough Cilician place-names found in the witness list. In order to calculate the costs of traversing the landscape between the selected nine places, elevation data are required. For this purpose, I obtained the digital elevation model (DEM) data from the NGA SRTM as GeoTIFF files, in three tiles.⁷⁶⁹ The resolution of this

⁷⁶⁶ A. Duggan and M. F. Haisman, "Prediction of the metabolic cost of walking with and without loads," *Ergonomics* 35, no. 4 (1992): 417-426. Cited from: J. Kantner, "Geographical approaches for reconstructing past human behavior from prehistoric roadways," in *Spatially Integrated Social Science: Examples in Best Practice*, ed. M. F. Goodchild and D. G. Janelle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 327.

⁷⁶⁷ Kantner, "Geographical approaches," 328.

⁷⁶⁸ Schild, "Archaeological Least Cost Path Modeling," 52.

⁷⁶⁹ N36E032, N36E033 and N36E034. Obtained 14th May 2017.

dataset is 1 arc-second (30 metres). Therefore, each ‘pixel’ in these images covers a 900-square-metre area of the earth’s surface. The data regarding elevation of a terrain are stored in each of the constituent raster cells of the image. Since only one value is associated with one raster cell regarding elevation, a raster dataset with a resolution of 1 arc-second certainly does not contain all properties of topographical elevation within a given area. I took the following steps to ensure that the DEM is suitable for calculating the cost of traversing the landscape: re-projecting the three tiles according to the appropriate projection method,⁷⁷⁰ merging the three tiles into one raster dataset,⁷⁷¹ and removing elevation values below zero, i.e., below the sea level.⁷⁷² Using Tobler’s hiking function, I then created a map of isochrones signifying travel time from Palapawl as well as from all these nine places.⁷⁷³

2.7.4.2 Results and discussion

The result in Figure 2-29 shows that taking account of topography leads to different areal coverage than that determined by the Euclidean distance, i.e., the area enclosed by the green lines. As the unit of measure for Tobler’s hiking function is hour per metre, the isochrones in Figure 2-29 are produced with one-hour interval travel time from Palapawl. Both Sik and Komardias are between the sixth- and seventh-hour isochrones. Komardias is closer to the seventh-hour isochrone while Sik is closer to the sixth-hour isochrone. Since Sik and Palapawl were controlled by the same baron, it seems that the relative position of Sik and Komardias from the seventh-hour isochrone explains why Komardias did not belong to the same group along with Sik and Palapawl. Calculating cost with all nine locations as places of origin, however, produced mixed results. In Figure 2-30, the cost of traversing the landscape was calculated based on travels from all these nine locations at the same time. If topography

⁷⁷⁰ ‘Project Raster’ tool with WGS_1984_UTM_Zone_36N as the output coordinate system.

⁷⁷¹ ‘Mosaic to New Raster’ tool; data type should be ‘32_signed_float’.

⁷⁷² ‘Extract by Attributes’ tool.

⁷⁷³ ‘Path Distance’ tool with Tobler’s hiking function as the vertical factor.

was the deciding factor as weighted by Tobler's hiking function, only the grouping of Komardias and Norderd can be explained by travel-time isochrones; these two locations are within two hours of travel from each other. Maniawn is closer to Punar, controlled by a different baron, than to Anamur, controlled by the same baron. With the same observation, Punar is closer to Maniawn, controlled by a different baron, than to Seleph, controlled by the same baron. As Punar (possibly Örenpınar in the Mersin province) is located within the Göksu basin, the connection through the river may account for this grouping of Punar and Seleph. However, a change of hydrographical conditions in the basin occurred in 2009: the completion of the Ermenek Dam further upstream in 2009. To assess the impact of the Göksu river on the accessibility to Punar from Seleph, pre-2009 hydrographical conditions are more appropriate for modelling. Such conditions, e.g., the course of the tributaries, can be acquired by digitising regional maps produced before 2009. Other human activities, such as deforestation and grazing, have also had an impact on the terrain in Rough Cilicia. Assessing such impact, however, requires more detailed datasets than there are currently available.

The case of Małva is the most inexplicable, being closer to Punar, controlled by a different baron, than to Palapawl or Sik, both controlled by the same baron. This modelling thus shows that topography and the travel time were not the primary factor for the geospatial organisation of baronial control over these Rough Cilician fortresses in 1198. My original hypothesis was that topography shaped the geospatial pattern seen in the witness list. With my findings from measuring the travelling time from selected locations, this hypothesis is rejected. This is a significant result because topography is no longer a viable explanation for the geospatial pattern seen in the witness list. Factors influencing such a geospatial pattern will need to be sought elsewhere.

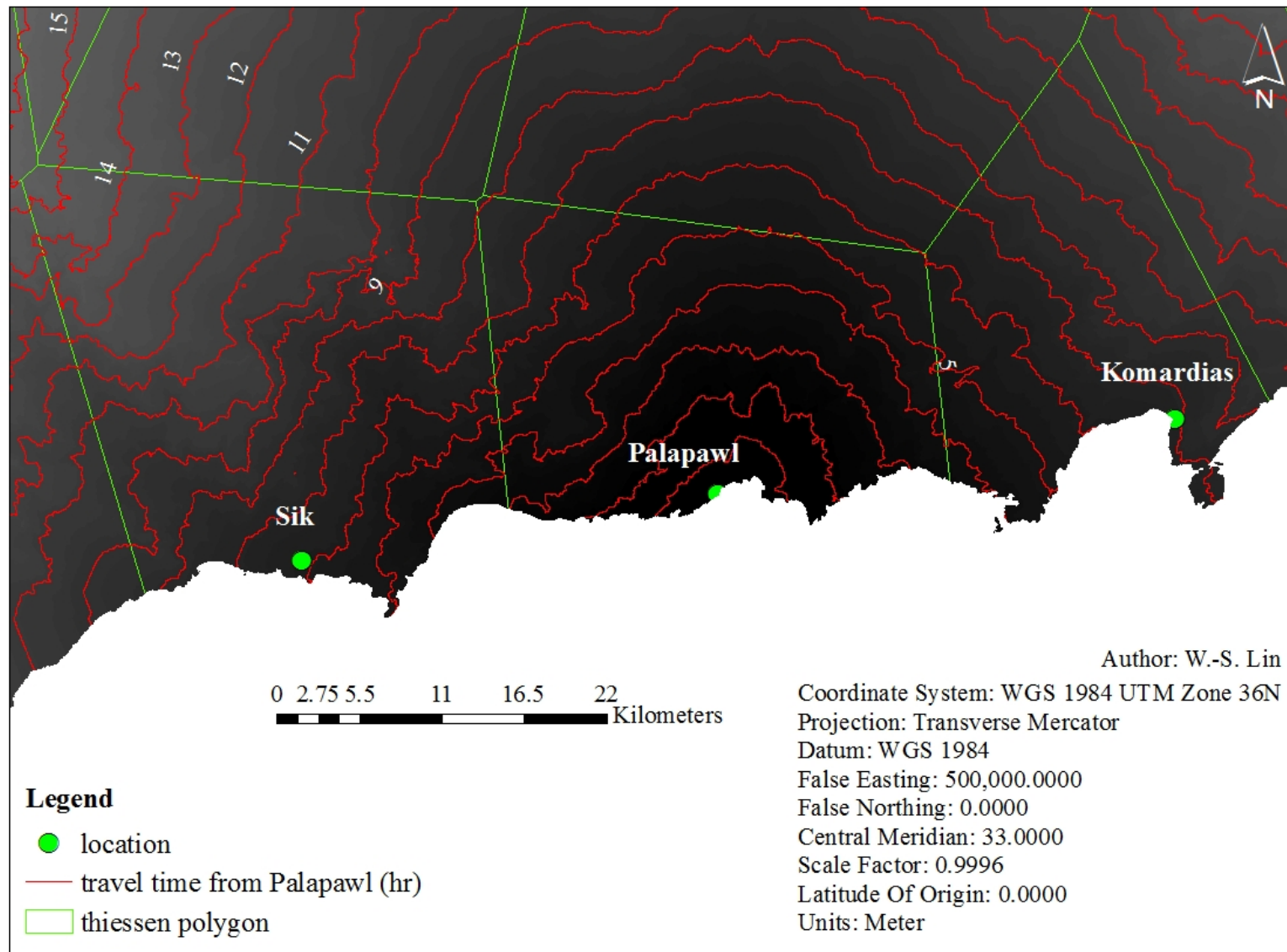


Figure 2-29. Isochrones for travel from Palapawl (Palopoli)

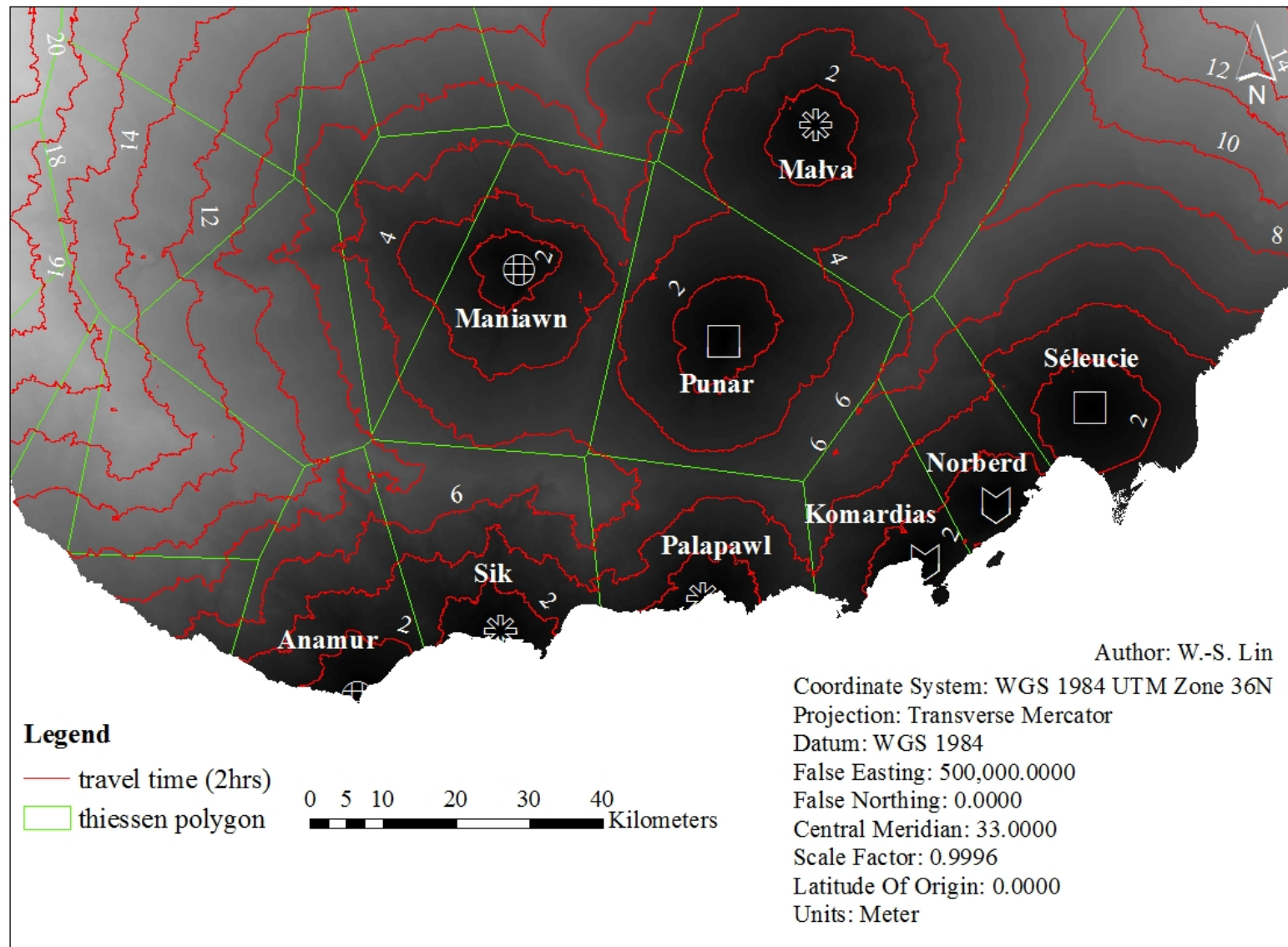


Figure 2-30. Isochrones for travel from the nine Rough Cilician places

There are various limitations on the results produced by ArcGIS using the digital elevation model and hiking function mentioned above. First, movements were simulated not through the actual landscape, but through the pixels, i.e., raster cells, within the dataset. Therefore, the cost symbolised by the isochrones should be viewed as relative, rather than absolute. Second, when calculating the cost, I only took into account directions of movement and slope, but not other factors, e.g., location of fresh water sources. In other words, the modelling was designed for identifying the ‘idealised routes’⁷⁷⁴ between known locations based solely on topographical relief, but not the way people decided on which route to take in the past, possibly taking into account factors in addition to angle of slope. Third, the topographical data used in this modelling are not complete, especially because they do not include past hydrological conditions. Such historical data, to my knowledge, have yet to be made available. Fourth, other factors pertinent to both inland and coastal locations should be taken into account in further examination. These factors include the hydrographical conditions of the Göksu basin and the impact of climate on the relief of the terrain over time. These factors are important as they both influenced transportation routes and the relief of the terrain, especially sedimentation around Seleph by the river. As mentioned above in the case of Punar, parts of the pre-2009 hydrographical conditions can be re-constructed (course of the tributaries). However, measuring such impact of both river and climate on the terrain requires more datasets than there are currently available to me. One alternative is to limit the area of testing, with Punar at the centre. This testing can show if there are particular routes from Punar more accessible to the river or vice versa. With a smaller area, testing the impact of erosion by the river and of climate on the relief of terrain also becomes more feasible. There is another factor contributing to the attractiveness of a location: arability. The arability of areas surrounding the fortresses or the structure of sustaining garrisons, had not been

⁷⁷⁴ Bikoulis, “Revisiting prehistoric sites in the Göksu valley,” 41.

recorded in the primary textual sources, but may yet be discovered through surface surveys. Fifth, there is no standard method for validating the results from such calculation.⁷⁷⁵ Calculation of such travel time is part of the modelling that produces least-cost pathway analysis between two known locations. I did not include least-cost pathway analysis because there is no known evidence about the frequency of usage of the routes across Rough Cilicia during the medieval period. Sixth, evidence for marking the boundaries of these places is yet to be defined. Although I have produced travel-time isochrones and potential site catchments, these isochrones from ArcGIS modelling can only be validated or verified with appropriate archaeological data. At the very least, field trials are necessary to validate the calculated cost of traversing the landscape in the region.⁷⁷⁶ Seventh, the study area was deliberately limited to a smaller area, instead of the whole of Rough Cilicia. Because the location of many place-names is not yet securely identified, their inclusion thus would introduce more uncertainty into the modelling. Once identified, all these places will provide more locations for points of origin for calculating travel time. In addition, the complete group of Rough Cilician places included in the witness list can also be subjected to network analysis, based on theoretical least-cost pathways amongst all these places, to identify if Palapawl is at the centre of the network. Since my observation concerns the coastline between Curcus and Antiozeta, this network analysis, if carried out, will be able to show if Palapawl was better connected within the network than all other coastal places between Curcus and Antiozeta.

To conclude, the modelling above was limited to calculating travel time from nine selected locations because other places are yet to be securely identified and more historical data, both environmental and archaeological, are needed for more sophisticated modelling

⁷⁷⁵ Schild, "Archaeological Least Cost Path Modeling," 4.

⁷⁷⁶ Conolly and Lake, *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*, 216.

and analyses. With the limitations noted above, topography was not the deciding factor for the geospatial pattern of fortress control seen in the witness list in 1198.

2.8 Geospatial pattern of historic maritime landscape characterisations

The availability of portolan handbooks from this period belies the lack of a comprehensive historical analysis of their usage.⁷⁷⁷ Apart from major known places in the portolan handbooks, there are two other types of maritime landscape description hitherto invisible in discussions on these texts. It is these two other types of places that are the focus of my present discussion. The first type includes those place-names that are identifiable with a location, but of minor importance in comparison with better-known place-names. The second type includes those landscape features without a name.⁷⁷⁸ Minor importance or uncertainty over their location is an obstacle to the systematic interpretation of these places. These less important or unidentifiable places are potentially informative because they fill the topographical void seen in the visualisations on portolan charts and usually take up considerable space in the portolan handbooks. As the space between all the known Cilician coastal places was not as vacant as seen in the selected portolan charts, including all these unidentifiable places is requisite for my systematic interpretation of relative importance of coastal places. For such a systematic interpretation, I argue that solving the uncertainty of those places is not necessary. Instead, the sequence of their appearance in these texts is a better basis for textual analysis. With the concepts of historic landscape characterisation and time-depth, I will develop below an analytical approach to the contents of these portolan handbooks based on the sequence of appearances.

⁷⁷⁷ Gautier Dalché, “Portulans and the Byzantine world,” 60.

⁷⁷⁸ Natural features, though with names, can also be observed in the portolan charts. Campbell, “Innovative Portolan Chart Names,” ‘Summary’.

2.8.1 Analysing the structure of portolan handbooks

It is important to understand the relative location of place-names and topographical features, so all the places mentioned in the portolan handbooks can be included in a systematic interpretation. With this analytical approach, interpreting portolan handbooks is then not restricted to cherry-picking only those place-names that are also recorded in other textual sources. As will be shown below, taking into account these relative locations in portolan handbooks will also highlight the sequence of reading, instead of just individual locations. My textual analysis is thus based on the inter-relationships between places in these texts. These texts describe the way in which one place is related to another place or topographical feature in direction and distance. Such a feature has been noted by Gautier Dalché, regarding *Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei* dated to c. 1200.⁷⁷⁹ A. Debanne further points out that the *narrative*, seen in another portolan handbook *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, consists of continuous thematic progression based on repetitive referral to antecedents that are places, thus forming a *chain*.⁷⁸⁰ This narrative structure, though not containing the actual merchants' activities along the way, still provides descriptions of sailing along the medieval Cilician coast, unlike the void seen in portolan charts. I use this concept of chain here to lay out the structure of five selected portolan handbooks. Disregarding digressions around a particular place in antiquity, I classify descriptions in the portolan handbooks by identifying the inter-relationship between places, i.e., one place being located by its geospatial relationship with another place. In Table 2-8, I have rearranged an excerpt to illustrate this chain of places in these texts. It is this geospatial locating with a reference point and the order in which each inter-relationship appears that are the focus of my textual analysis. Though there is no necessary material connection between a

⁷⁷⁹ Gautier Dalché, *Carte Marine et Portulan au XIIIe Siècle*, 69-70.

⁷⁸⁰ A. Debanne, ed., *Lo Compasso de Navegare: Edizione del Codice Hamilton 396 con Commento Linguistico e Glossario* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2011), 222-223.

place and its reference point, I view a place referred to more than one time as a central locus functioning as a point of bearing.

Table 2-8. An example of a ‘chain of places’

Text	a ‘chain of places’
..... De Antiochecta a Stalemura xx mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te v(er) lo greco. De Stalemura a Sechilo xx mil(lara) entre greco e leva(n)te. De Sechilo a Papadola xl mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te. De Papadola a Camarlese xx mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te. De Cama(r)lese a Ilena de Bagassa xxx mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te..... ⁷⁸¹	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stalemura, twenty miles east by northeast from Antiochecta 2. Sechilo, twenty miles between northeast and east from Stalemura 3. Papadola, forty miles east from Sechilo 4. Camarlese, twenty miles east from Papadola 5. Ilena de Bagassa, thirty miles east from Camarlese

The greater the number of references to a place, the more important this place is in a text. A place may be important because more adjacent topographical features are described. But this at best is an assumption, rather than an assertion, because there has not yet been a consensus on the criteria for determining importance in portolan handbooks. Precisely because of this lack of explicit criteria regarding importance, I propose to examine the descriptions found in the portolan handbooks. My hypothesis is: clustering of places signifies the relative importance of that part of the Cilician coast, which in turn reflects the relative importance of a known location within the cluster. I view a place as the centre of a cluster provided that it is a reference point for more than one other place. Not all chains of places consist of known place-names as the reference point, as seen in Table 2-8. In Table 2-9, each place is the reference point for the subsequent place, but the un-named places appear in these inter-relationships. Standing on its own, the location of no. 2 or no. 3 in Table 2-9 is non-determinate. Considered together along with no. 1, in contrast, both are located not at a precise location, but with reference to Tarsus. These un-named places found in the portolan

⁷⁸¹ Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 73.

handbooks thus can be located with reference to known places. Broadly speaking, there are three ways of referring to places in portolan handbooks, as seen in Table 2-10.

Table 2-9. An example of a more extended ‘chain of places’

Text	‘Chain of places’ rearrangement
One mile from Mallos you shall find Tarsos, a huge place and it stands in the middle of a plain land; there is a river [in Tarsos] and fishing boats enter [it] and down at the mouth there is a tower and there let us cast anchor at 6 fathoms. ⁷⁸²	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tarsos, one mile from Mallos and a huge place on the plain 2. a river, [in Tarsus and] which fishing boats can enter 3. a tower at the mouth of the river, where one casts anchor

For the first type in Table 2-10, there is no clustering around a known place-name. For example, Papadola in Table 2-8 is a reference point for Camarlese only. For the second type, those places which are mentioned by referring to a common named place belong to the same clustering. Thus, N-Ps 1, 2 and 3 are classified as in the same clustering, i.e., that of N-P 1. For example, three places are mentioned in Table 2-9. The third place, a tower, is mentioned with reference to a river, which in turn is defined by its relative position from Tarsus. Because Tarsus is referred to more than once in this text, there is a clustering of Tarsus. It is worth noting the nature of maritime travel as shown in the description of access to Tarsus in Table 2-9. While Tarsus is described as a huge place in the middle of a plain, the portolan handbook contains only instruction on access through boat, but not through other transportation methods. In other words, places like Tarsus, further inland but located near a navigable river, would be included in the portolan handbooks. There is thus a limit on the geographical scope of the portolan handbooks: only those places that could be reached through maritime travel. In the case of Tarsus in Table 2-9, the navigable river was mentioned for reaching Tarsus, but the text does not remark on the areas further upstream

⁷⁸² “..... ἀπὸ τὸν Μαλλὸν μίλιν ἓνα εὐρίσκεις τὴν Ταρσόν, χώραν μεγάλην· καὶ στέκεται μέσα εἰς κάμπον καὶ ἔχει ποταμὸν καὶ ἐμπαίνουν ἡ γριπαρίαις καὶ κάτω εἰς τὸ στόμα ἔχει πύργον καὶ ἐκεῖ ῥάσσωμεν εἰς ὀργαίς ζ’.....” Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, 174 lines 9-13.

from Tarsus. Such absence of remarks on areas further upstream may be the result of Tarsus' status as a 'central place', being the centre of local economic activities. Tarsus in this case marks the boundary between the maritime and the terrestrial transportation networks.

For the third type, I classify N-Ps 1, 2 and UN-Ps 0, 1, 2 as belonging to the same clustering, i.e., that of N-P 1. Because un-named places can only be identified by their relative position to a known place-name, N-P 1 remains the ultimate point of bearing for UN-Ps 0, 1 and 2. N-P 2, even as an identified place-name, belongs to the same clustering of N-P 1 because its reference point is the un-named place UN-P 2, which can only be located, ultimately, with reference to N-P 1. For example, the mouth of river *Saleffo* in *Lo Compasso* in Table 2-11 is a reference point for three places: a cape, *lo Curco* and *mMallo*. Both the cape and *mMallo* are located with direct reference to the mouth of river *Saleffo*. *lo Curco* is referred to as 'ten miles northeast from the cape'. Although *lo Curco* is an identifiable place, I consider it to be in the clustering in the mouth of river *Saleffo*, as it is located by its own relative position from the cape, which is located ultimately with reference to the mouth of river *Saleffo*.

Based on this definition of clustering, the narrative progression in portolan handbooks can then be shown to consist of different clusters around different places. I argue that such differences reflect changing clusterings of place-names, which in turn illustrate the changing importance of different parts of the medieval Cilician coast. Since these clusterings are defined by their reference to a known place-name, their changes over time will be contrasted with the changing importance of Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus as seen in my initial observation on the portolan charts. These clusterings along the Cilician coast, if shown to cover a similar area in different texts, will also revise the assumption for my initial observations on the portolan charts: overlapping spheres of influence of adjacent red place-names. Such an assumption is necessitated by the void seen on the portolan charts regarding

the boundaries for the sphere of influence of those red places.⁷⁸³ Therefore, the Cilician coast between Antiozeta and Licia, assumed to be on an isotropic plain above, can then be divided up into segments, if the geographical extent of those clusterings in portolan handbooks are stable over time.

Table 2-10. Three types of ‘chain of places’

	First	Second	Third
‘chain of places’	N-P* 1, from N-P 0	N-P 1, from N-P 0	N-P 1, from N-P 0
	N-P 2, from N-P 1	N-P 2, from N-P 1	UN-P** 0, from N-P 1
	N-P 3, from N-P 2	N-P 3, from N-P 1	UN-P 1, from UN-P 0
	N-P 4, from N-P 3	UN-P 2, from UN-P 1
		N-P 5, from N-P 4	N-P 2, from UN-P 2
		N-P 3, from N-P 2
		
*N-P: named place			
**UN-P: un-named place			

2.8.2 Criteria for selecting portolan handbooks for comparison

Covering the coastline between Antiozeta and Licia is the first of my several criteria for selecting portolan handbook texts for comparison. Other criteria include the presence of three main elements: direction, distance and topographical feature. I exclude those texts that do not mention direction and distance, as these two elements indicate the practical purpose for which the texts would have been used or that these texts were results of accumulating experiences from merchants. Thus excluded from the comparison are texts on geography rather than navigation on the sea, such as the eleventh-century *Book of Curiosities*⁷⁸⁴ and *De Viis Maris* from the twelfth century.⁷⁸⁵ Neither do I include those modern systematic surveys conducted as a result of intelligence gathering, e.g., that compiled by the UK’s Admiralty in

⁷⁸³ Cf. 2.2.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. footnote 633.

⁷⁸⁵ P. Gautier Dalché, ed., *Du Yorkshire à l’Inde: Une Géographie Urbaine et Maritime de la Fin du XIIe Siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 219-221.

1919.⁷⁸⁶ Another, conducted by Beaufort in 1811 and 1812 one century earlier,⁷⁸⁷ is more impressionistic. Though similarity between relevant sections of these modern surveys and those from the medieval periods is striking in form,⁷⁸⁸ their inclusion contradicts what I aim to do here: I am comparing medieval portolan charts and handbooks amongst themselves regarding the changing importance of coastal places. Inevitably, modern systematic maritime surveys yield more precise information regarding Cilician coastal places. There are also descriptions and assessments of topographical features along the coastlines in the modern surveys as there are in those medieval portolan handbooks. Including these modern systematic surveys, however, is tantamount to evaluating medieval portolan charts and handbooks for their precision, not the changing descriptions of the maritime landscape in the medieval periods. In addition, apart from the different level of precision and details in modern surveys, my aim here is also different from that of the modern surveys. For those modern surveys, unconnected and irreconcilable accounts are a cause for concern regarding the results produced.⁷⁸⁹ In contrast, differences between these medieval texts are what I search for. Moreover, not all the portolan charts describing the Cilician coast include every major known place between Antiozeta and Licia. Since these descriptions cluster around those more described segments of the coastline, changes in such descriptions indicate changes in relative importance of different parts of the coastline. By adopting this concept of clustering, I thus avoid the imperative of identifying an un-named topographical feature with a modern location and am able to include these characterisations of the maritime landscapes along the medieval Cilician coast. As a baseline for comparison, I chose instead two texts that are of similar nature but dated after 1500: the anonymous Greek text dated to the sixteenth

⁷⁸⁶ Cf. footnote 532.

⁷⁸⁷ For the survey on the coastline between Antiozeta and Ayacium: Beaufort, *Karamania*, 185-287.

⁷⁸⁸ Cf. footnote 532.

⁷⁸⁹ Beaufort, *Karamania*, 260-261.

century (henceforth the Delatte text)⁷⁹⁰ and *Kitab-ı Bahriye* of Pîrî Reis (c. 1465/1470-1554) compiled in 1521.⁷⁹¹

The critical edition of the Delatte text is based on five extant manuscripts.⁷⁹² A. Delatte discerns influence of the ‘Frankish language’, especially the Venetian language, in the text. This text is thus different from earlier Greek navigation instructions such as *Stadiasmus sive periplus maris magni* (Σταδιασμός, ἥτοι περίπλους τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης).⁷⁹³ Judging from its composition, Delatte considers the original text to be the work of one individual, though arrangements of chapters are different between two groups of extant manuscripts.⁷⁹⁴ Divided into seven chapters, this Delatte text only covers the coastline between Licia and Calandro in the relevant chapter. As these un-named topographical features are grouped into clusters by their relative position in the portolan handbook, the sequence of their appearance is paramount for my analysis. Therefore, I follow this critical edition by Delatte, with Calandro as the westernmost point when rearranging the descriptions below, as the baseline for comparison with earlier portolan handbooks.

The *Kitab-ı Bahriye* [Book of Navigation] by Pîrî Reis, even without a critical edition based on all the known manuscripts,⁷⁹⁵ is distinct for its known authorship and accompanying illustration of selected coastlines. This combination of instruction and illustration was a result of circulating charts and handbooks then available to Pîrî Reis, who produced a separate map that was discovered in 1929 at the Topkapı Sarayı.⁷⁹⁶ In *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, Pîrî Reis not only

⁷⁹⁰ Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, 170-180.

⁷⁹¹ Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 4, 1568-1601.

⁷⁹² Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, viii-xvi.

⁷⁹³ Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, xx; K. Müller, ed., *Geographi Graeci Minores*. Vol. 1 (Paris: editoribus Firmin Didot et sociis, 1882), 427-514.

⁷⁹⁴ Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, vii.

⁷⁹⁵ There are 29 according to: Z. Ökte, ed., V. Çabuk, transcrip., and R. Bragner, trans., *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, 1988), 28; 35 according to: S. Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 93; 42 according to: B. Arı, ed., and A. Demir, transli., *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Denizcilik Müsteşarlığı, 2002), Önsöz [Preface; no page number].

⁷⁹⁶ Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 1, 20.

described coastal places and the coastline, but also provided brief digressions regarding fortresses in question. Because Pîrî Reis was an experienced officer in the Ottoman navy and closer to the period in question, his text is a better basis of comparison against medieval instructions than modern systematic maritime surveys. Pîrî Reis is also one of the only two Ottoman naval officers who wrote down sailing instructions;⁷⁹⁷ the other being Seydi Ali Reis, another naval officer in the sixteenth century.⁷⁹⁸ The translation I use here is based on the manuscript⁷⁹⁹ first drafted in 1521, transcribed in 1525/1526 and dedicated to the reign of Ottoman sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566).⁸⁰⁰ There may be concerns about comparing those three earlier texts in the Western languages with these two later texts in the Greek and Ottoman Turkish languages. After all, only portolan charts before 1500 were selected at the beginning of this chapter,⁸⁰¹ because portolan charts produced in the Western Mediterranean prior to that date reflected conditions along the Mediterranean coast.⁸⁰² In addition, these two later texts may reflect different cartographical traditions from those for the portolan handbooks to be compared. In response to these two methodological concerns, I point out that 1500 as the end-date for realistic portolan charts produced in the Western Mediterranean is the result of debate by cartographical historians regarding their accuracy. Since there is yet no portolan chart found in association with a portolan handbook, the connection between portolan charts and portolan handbooks has been assumed on the basis of the perceived function of both for navigation. Thus, the year 1500 is not relevant for selecting portolan handbooks. Also, I here propose to examine the changes in descriptions of coastal places in all these texts, not whether these descriptions were accurate when they were produced. Even if these two later texts were produced from two other distinct cartographical traditions, albeit

⁷⁹⁷ Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 1, 39.

⁷⁹⁸ Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 1, 19.

⁷⁹⁹ Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, ms. H. 642.

⁸⁰⁰ Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 1, catalogue card attached inside the cover [no page number], 26, 45.

⁸⁰¹ Cf. footnote 492.

⁸⁰² Cf. footnotes 492 and 493.

with influence from the Western Mediterranean,⁸⁰³ differences in their description of coastal places will also illustrate various annotations of the maritime space along medieval Cilician coast. Thus, including these two later texts for my comparative analysis is not only methodologically sound, but also requisite. As a first step, I tabulated those descriptions from both the Delatte text and *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. To indicate the relationship between known places as well as those un-named places, I rearranged the way a place was described by putting the place in question first, followed by its distance to the previous place or other places, as well as additional information regarding navigation. This method of comparing various portolan handbooks for changes in descriptions of the same places seen in the Strymon Delta Project.⁸⁰⁴ As shown in Table 2-9, all those places are listed, with the un-named places not obscured by the named ones. The same method is then applied to three earlier portolan handbooks: *Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei* (henceforth *Liber*),⁸⁰⁵ *Lo Compasso de Navegare* (henceforth *Lo Compasso*),⁸⁰⁶ and the relevant section in *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (henceforth *Liber Secretorum*).⁸⁰⁷

Though the first two are considered among the earliest extant portolan handbooks, there is still debate about their dating. *Liber* is dated to c.1200 by Gautier Dalché based on the mention of Saint-Gilles, a port which declined in importance in the thirteenth century.⁸⁰⁸ Pujades i Bataller thinks that dating based on the appearance or absence of a toponym is not reliable.⁸⁰⁹ Based on palaeography of the text, Pujades i Bataller contends that its production

⁸⁰³ Cf. footnotes 793 and 796.

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. 1.6.

⁸⁰⁵ Gautier Dalché, *Carte Marine et Portulan au XIIIe Siècle*, 130-132.

⁸⁰⁶ Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 73. The index of A. Debanne's edition contains some errors and omissions, which were highlighted and corrected by T. Campbell in 2014: T. Campbell, "Corrections and Additions to the Index by Alessandra Debanne to Her Edition of 'Lo Compasso de Navegare'," accessed 9 August 2018, <http://www.maphistory.info/LoCompassoDebanne.doc>.

⁸⁰⁷ Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 243-244; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, the Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. P. Lock (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 142-149.

⁸⁰⁸ Gautier Dalché, *Carte Marine et Portulan au XIIIe Siècle*, 8.

⁸⁰⁹ Pujades i Bataller, "The Pisana Chart," 19.

could not be earlier than the third decade of the fourteenth century.⁸¹⁰ I have included this text as an example of a portolan handbook produced before Ayacium became a prominent place for trade in medieval Cilicia in the 1270s. The second text, *Lo Compasso* based on a manuscript at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin⁸¹¹ can be dated to 1296, which is recorded in the *incipit*.⁸¹² Debanne thinks that it is possible to attribute this dating to the work of the copyist,⁸¹³ implying a potentially earlier date. Pujades i Bataller thinks that it could not be earlier than 1279, when the Catalan royal port Palamós, mentioned in the text, was founded.⁸¹⁴ Though this is not the earliest portolan handbook, it is one of the earlier ones covering the medieval Cilician coast. It has been subject to textual analysis by Gautier Dalché, though not focusing on the Cilician coast.⁸¹⁵ For my comparison, I view this text as one produced between 1279 and 1296. Despite some uncertainty over the dating of these first two portolan handbooks, I include them because both are certainly produced earlier than the Delatte text and *Kitab-ı Bahriye*.

Unlike these two earlier anonymous texts, the authorship of *Liber Secretorum* is known. The author, Marino Sanudo the Elder (c.1270-c.1343), came from the Sanuti family, well-connected in Venetian politics⁸¹⁶ and involved in trade with Constantinople possibly since the eleventh century.⁸¹⁷ His travelling experience in the Eastern Mediterranean began with his visit to Naxos and Acre in 1281 and 1285, respectively, to familiarise himself with his family business.⁸¹⁸ *Liber Secretorum* was composed between 1307 and 1321.⁸¹⁹ In it,

⁸¹⁰ R. J. Pujades i Bataller, “Explotación económica y aprehensión intelectual del espacio en la baja edad media y el Renacimiento: el potencial informativo de la cartografía y los textos técnicos de carácter geográfico para los historiadores de la economía,” in *Dove Va la Storia Economica? Metodi e Prospettive. Secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. F. Ammannati (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2011), 266-267.

⁸¹¹ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms. Hamilt. 396.

⁸¹² Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 35.

⁸¹³ Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 30.

⁸¹⁴ Pujades i Bataller, “The Pisana Chart,” 19.

⁸¹⁵ Gautier Dalché, “Portulans and the Byzantine world,” 61.

⁸¹⁶ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 2.

⁸¹⁷ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 1.

⁸¹⁸ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 4.

Marino Sanudo included descriptions of the Eastern Mediterranean coast in Book Two. K. Kretschmer discerns influence of the ‘the Italian model’ because of the terms used to describe the winds.⁸²⁰ His recourse to then available portolan handbooks other than ones in Latin is also supposed by Kretschmer and P. Lock.⁸²¹ As Marino Sanudo was making a case for a new Crusade after the fall of Acre in 1291 to the pope, Lock thinks that his text was based on realistic appraisals.⁸²² Kretschmer further points to maps by P. Vesconte as the archetype of the four maps mentioned by Marino Sanudo in his own texts.⁸²³ Marino Sanudo divided the descriptions into two main parts: the first is the coastline controlled by the Mamluks, stretching from the gulf of Alexandretta to Benghazi in Libya; the other from the gulf of Alexandretta to the Rough Cilician coast. With the descriptions of the Cilician coast mostly covered in the second part, I hereby include this section of text by Marino Sanudo.

Before discussing my findings from classifying the descriptions in the portolan handbooks, I here point out three aspects in which they differ amongst themselves in structure and orientation, regarding their descriptions of the medieval Cilician coastline. First, *Lo Compasso* is the only one in which the direction of sailing is from Rough Cilicia to the gulf of Alexandretta. The direction of sailing is from the gulf of Alexandretta to Rough Cilicia for all the other four texts, i.e., *Liber*, *Liber Secretorum*, the Delatte text and *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. The reason for such a reverse sailing direction is yet to be identified. Coincidentally, two other non-Latin texts of medieval portolan handbooks compiled by Kretschmer also describe the Cilician coast in the same direction of sailing as that found in *Lo Compasso*.⁸²⁴ This reverse direction is also seen in an unpublished portolan handbook that is yet to be dated

⁸¹⁹ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 3.

⁸²⁰ Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 202.

⁸²¹ Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 202-203; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 8.

⁸²² Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 5-6.

⁸²³ Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 113.

⁸²⁴ Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, 331-332, 527-530.

but has been discussed by Jacoby.⁸²⁵ The cause and significance for such a reverse direction in non-Latin portolan handbooks, however, falls outside the scope of my analysis. Second, a systematic evaluation of the built environment at a named place is used in *Liber: castrum* (fortress), *civitas* (city), *portus* (port) or *vicus* (village). In contrast, all the other four texts do not evaluate the built environment in such a systematic manner. Fortresses and ports are mentioned, but not as consistently as topographical features, e.g., cape, promontory or river mouth. Third, *Lo Compasso* is the only one that uses relative directions. While the frequency of referring to compass directions is not the same across all the other four texts, directions are consistent with the compass directions. In contrast, there are three examples along the Cilician coast that indicate the use of relative direction in *Lo Compasso*. (Cf. Figure 2-31.) In it, Antiozeta is described as ‘twenty miles east slightly northeast’ from Castel Lombardo.⁸²⁶ With Castel Lombardo located to the northwest of Antiozeta, this direction makes sense only when one sails from Castel Lombardo towards the direction of Antiozeta. Similar relative directions are given for sailing from Antiozeta to Stalemura (east northeast),⁸²⁷ and from Curcus to the mouth of river Seleph (between east and northeast).⁸²⁸ I do not argue here that *Lo Compasso* is more accurate for its relative directions from the perspective of a sailing ship because such direction is not consistently in use in the same section of *Lo Compasso* on the Cilician coast. In addition, the distance between some places is erroneous. For example, Curcus is fifty miles from the mouth of river Seleph⁸²⁹ while Malo is only ten miles from the same river mouth.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁵ Jacoby, “An Unpublished Medieval Portolan of the Mediterranean in Minneapolis,” 80.

⁸²⁶ “..... De Castel Lombardo ad Anciocheta xx mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te v(er) lo greco um poco.....” Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 73.

⁸²⁷ “..... De Anciocheta a Stalemura xx mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te v(er) lo greco.....” Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 73.

⁸²⁸ “..... De lo Cu(r)co a la foce de Saleffo l mil(lara) entre greco e levante.....” Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 73.

⁸²⁹ Cf. footnote 828.

⁸³⁰ “..... De la foce de Saleffo a mMallo x mil(lara) p(er) levan(n)te.....” Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 73.

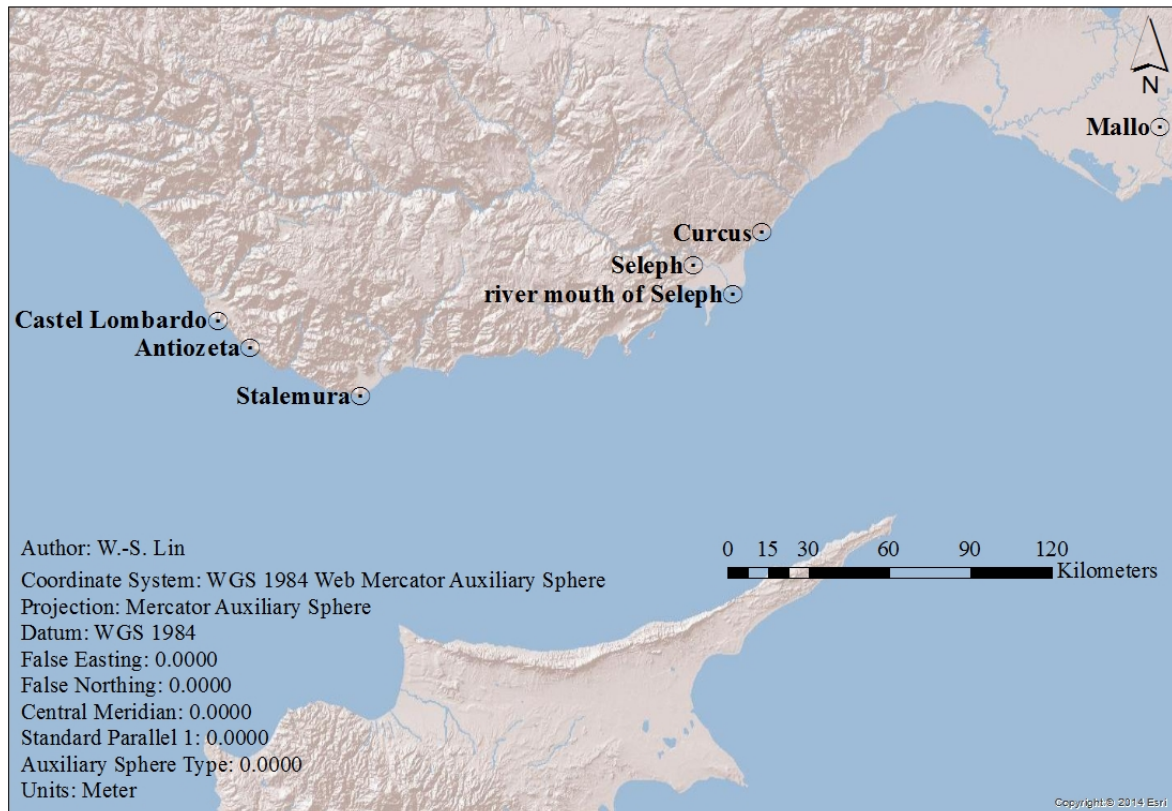


Figure 2-31. Selected places from *Lo Compasso*

Despite these diverging features among these selected portolan handbooks in different languages, the focus on sea routes is the shared feature. This uniform feature contradicts the dichotomy proposed by E. Savage-Smith that “land-routes dominated the Latin itineraries” while seas routes were the subject of similar texts in Greek.⁸³¹

2.8.3 Findings from textual analysis

In Table 2-11, I circled all those clusterings around a named place. There are cases of overlapping clusterings, e.g., that of *Salinae* and *Mallo* overlap in *Liber*. Because of its

⁸³¹ E. Savage-Smith, “Maps and Trade,” in *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange. Papers of the Thirty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St John’s College, University of Oxford, March 2004*, ed. M. M. Mango (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 17.

reverse sailing direction, I placed *Lo Compasso* on the left, with all the other four texts subsequently placed according to their dating from left to right. Table 2-11 highlights four features found in these five texts. First, the later a text is, the more extensive its descriptions are for the Rough Cilician coast west of the Seleph river. Second, descriptions regarding Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus vary significantly. Only Tarsus is referred to more often in later texts. Because of the division of the Marino Sanudo text, the descriptions of Alexandretta in that text are not included in the table. However, references to Alexandretta increased diachronically from *Liber* to *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, before a casual reference is found in the Delatte text to a good harbour that is likely to be Alexandretta.⁸³² Palopoli appears only as a place of reference in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* but is not mentioned even once in all the other four texts. As Palopoli was a ruined castle by 1521, as stated in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, it is likely that it functioned as a point of bearing for sailing ships along the Rough Cilician coast. Third, *Lo Compasso* presents only two – but most distinct – clusterings: those around the mouth of river Seleph (Saleffo) and Licia (Licça). Fourth, a point of reference for a place need not be a nearby place. In *Liber*, Cyprus, *Raseleganzir* and *Stanimura* are used as points of reference for places that are closer to other named places.

In all, there are two main findings from this textual analysis. First, Ayacium is absent from the earliest of these five texts, *Liber* and its absence accords with the prominence of Ayacium only in the late thirteenth century recorded in other textual sources. Second, judging from the number of places mentioned, *Liber*, *Lo Compasso* and *Liber Secretorum* indicate increasing importance of the Rough Cilician coast to the west of river Seleph. The following places are referred to more than once for each text, in chronological order: *Laudocia*, *Raseleganzir*, *Salinae*, *Mallo*, *Malmistra*, *Tharsus*, *Curcus*, *Celephe*, *Sichin*, *Stanimura* in *Liber* (c. 1200); *Licça* and the mouth of *Saleffo* in *Lo Compasso* (1279-1296); *Laiacium*,

⁸³² Cf. footnote 841.

Portus Pallorum, Malo, Tarsus, Curcus, Lena de Labagaxa and *Portus Prodensalius* in *Liber Secretorum* (1307-1321); *Lâzikiye, İskenderun, Ayas, Tarsus, Görgös, Gilindire, Yeni Anamur* and *Eski Anamur* in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (1521); and *Laodikeia, Barbounelin, Agiasin, Mallos, Tarsos, Kourkos, Skogion Probentzale, Anemourin* and *Chalantron* in the Delatte text. Alexandretta, though mentioned in both *Liber* and *Lo Compasso*, did not serve as a point of reference for more than one place in these two texts. It is referred to more than once in *Kitab-ı Bahriye* but appears to be marginal⁸³³ in the Delatte text. In contrast, Tarsus consistently remained the point of reference for more than one place in all but one of the above portolan handbooks. The importance of Tarsus as a centre of administration during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is attested by textual sources from this period. The city was where Genoese administered their trading activities in the kingdom when they first obtained concessions in 1201;⁸³⁴ the Genoese administration was expanded in 1215 when the Armenian king granted them a quarter in the city.⁸³⁵ After the Mamluk capture of Ayacium in 1323, Tarsus also became the main port for the kingdom.⁸³⁶ Finally, Palopoli (*Gilindire*) is referred to more than once only in *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, among these five texts. If viewed in a regional context, i.e., between the mouth of river Seleph and Antiozeta, i.e., the Rough Cilician coast, the number of places with clustering increases from two in c. 1200 to three in the sixteenth century. Judging from the number of places being mentioned in total along the Rough Cilician coast, Palopoli does not seem particularly important. A good counter-example is *Stalemura/Stallimuri* in *Lo Compasso/Liber Secretorum*. It is only referred to once in these two texts, consistent with my observation on the selected portolan charts, i.e., consistently in black. It is referred to more than once, however, in the other three texts: *Liber*, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* and the Delatte text.

⁸³³ Cf. footnote 841.

⁸³⁴ Cf. footnote 940.

⁸³⁵ Cf. footnote 1274.

⁸³⁶ Cf. footnote 1211.

Table 2-11. Clusters in selected portolan handbooks

Text title	<i>Lo Compasso de Navegare</i> ⁸³⁷	<i>Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei</i>	<i>Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis</i> ⁸³⁸	<i>Kitab-ı Bahriye</i> ⁸³⁹	[edited by Delatte]
Author	Anonymous	Anonymous	Marino Sanudo	Pîrî Reis	Anonymous
Year	1279-1296	c. 1200	1307-1321	1521	16th
	<p>Antiochecta, twenty miles east <i>um poco</i>⁸⁴⁰ by northeast from Castel Lombardo</p> <p>Stalemura, twenty miles east by northeast from Antiochecta</p> <p>Sechilo, twenty miles between northeast and east from Stalemura</p> <p>Papadola, forty miles east from Sechilo</p> <p>Camarlese, twenty miles east from Papadola</p> <p>Ilena de Bagassa, thirty miles east from Camarlese</p>	<p>Laudocia, a city ten miles from Gibellus</p> <p>a port, in the gulf below the city walls of Laudocia</p> <p>the headland of Saint Andrew, seventy miles to the west from Laudocia</p> <p>Cursale, a big village east of Laudocia</p> <p>Aleph, southwest of Cursale</p> <p>Gloriata, a point of the coast ten miles west northwest from Laudocia</p>		<p>a promontory southwest to harbour of Lâzikiye, with a shoal round the cape</p> <p>the sea, rocky before the mouth of harbour of Lâzikiye</p> <p>two bastions on each side of the entrance to the harbour of Lâzikiye</p> <p>Lâzikiye, two miles inland from its harbour and like a dark island because of gardens and vineyards</p> <p>Lorata, a cape of shoals to the west of Lâzikiye</p> <p>a small island, six miles north of the cape and whose channel is suitable for anchorage</p>	<p>a promontory, to the west of Laodikeia, projects for four miles</p> <p>Gloureta, along the promontory</p> <p>Laodikeia</p> <p>Posidin, a scarlet promontory thirty miles from Laodikeia</p> <p>a fair place towards the promontory, where one comes in and casts anchor</p> <p>an islet, six miles from the promontory, in whose channel one casts anchor</p>

⁸³⁷ For the translation of some sentences, I am grateful for the assistance by F. Vanni, doctoral researcher at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham. Pers. comm. 11 April 2017.

⁸³⁸ The English translation is that of Lock. Cf. footnote 807.

⁸³⁹ The English translation is that of R. Bragner in the volumes edited by Ökte. Cf. footnote 791.

⁸⁴⁰ 87° 11' 15" (ascending quarters). For *um poco* on the 128-point compass, cf. Debanne, *Lo Compasso de Navegare*, 27.

<p>the mouth of Saleffo, eight miles northeast by north from Iena de Bagassa</p> <p>the cape, ten miles northeast by north from the mouth of Saleffo</p> <p>Io Curco, ten miles northeast from the cape</p> <p>the mouth of Saleffo, fifty miles between northeast and east from Io Curco</p> <p>mMallo, ten miles east from the mouth of Saleffo</p>	<p>Mountain Parlerius, twenty miles northeast from Gloriata</p> <p>river of the city of Antiochia, thirty miles from the Mountain Parlerius</p> <p>Antiochia, miles from the river</p>		<p>the inlet of Süveyde, of which the inner end is shallow</p> <p>the mouth of river Asi, inland from the shallows of Süveyde and through which boats can enter</p> <p>a small islet northwest of river Asi, which provides a safe shelter</p> <p>Re's-i Hinzir, twenty miles east-northeast to the small islet and a high promontory</p>	<p>the gulf of Soudios, one mile further and a bad beaching place</p>
<p>the mouth of the Bocça, fifteen miles east from Mallo</p> <p>the port of the Pali, ten miles northeast from the mouth of the Bocça</p> <p>the Glacça, ten miles between northeast and east from the port of the Pali</p>	<p>Raseleganzir, sixty miles from the river</p> <p>Black Mountain, extending from the river, passing by Raseleganzir and extending beyond to a certain port</p> <p>Alexandria, a city ten miles from Raseleganzir</p> <p>Portella, a castrum ten miles from Alexandria and situated in the gulf of Issus</p>	<p>Mount Caybo, twenty miles northwest from Caramela</p>	<p>İskenderun, twenty miles east-northeast from Re's-i Hinzir, a ruined castle on a low promontory</p> <p>the sea in front of the castle, a safe haven</p> <p>the tip of the cape one mile further from this low promontory is shallow</p>	<p>Tripitin, a promontory below the Black Mountain and one mile from the gulf of Soudios</p>
	<p>Salinae and its port, twenty miles around the gulf of Issus south from Portella</p>	<p>Laiacium, fifteen miles west southwest from Mount Caybo, with a port</p>	<p>Ayas, twelve miles northwest from İskenderun</p>	<p>Barbounelin, a promontory one mile from Tripitin</p> <p>a small islet to the north</p> <p>Proventza, a bad region</p> <p>a promontory, twenty miles away and creating a gulf</p> <p>A tower, on the cape</p> <p>a good harbour, one mile away to the east⁸⁴¹</p>

⁸⁴¹ Judging from the description and its geospatial relationship with Ayacium, this harbour could be Alexandretta.

Mount Gaibo , fifteen miles east from the Glacça	Mallo , fifteen miles southwest from Salinae and looking back eastwards to Raseleganzir over forty miles across the strait	a reef, outside the port at Laiacium and on which cables and anchors may be used	an islet in front of the castle Ayas , whose channel is good for small boats whereas bigger ones have to be on the outer side of the island	Agiasin , a large castrum twelve miles from the harbour to the northwest
Caramella , ten miles southeast from the Mount Gaibo	Malmistra , a city ten miles from Salinae	Portus Palloum , ten miles between west and southwest from Laiacium	Kazık Limanı , a shelter and an ancient port beyond Ayas	an islet, to the east of the castrum with a breakwater
[A]lexandrecta , fifteen miles between south and southwest from Caramella	a river, going down on the north and east side of Malmistra	mouth of river Malmistra , ten miles southwest from Portus Pallorum	Cihan Suyu , beyond Kazık Limanı	a channel, for small ships
Porto Bonello , ten miles south from Alexandrecta	Mallo , five miles from Malmistra	a white flag, permanently fixed at the point of Portus Pallorum	Od Kal’esi , a ruined castle, on a lofty place opposite the sea, beyond Cihan Suyu	Porto Palé , ten miles from Agiasin to the south
Rassaca(n)çiro , ten miles between south and southwest from Porto Bonello	Stanimura , a city one hundred and fifty-five miles west from Mallo	Malo , ten miles west northwest from the river Malmistra and a port	Porta Melun , an islet on the southwestern side of Od Kal’esi and whose channel is good for small ships	Mallos , on the way to Porto Palé , appearing like two islands in bad weather
the mouth of Soldino , twenty miles southeast by south from Rasaca(n)giro	river of Adana , fifteen miles from Mallo	two small islands, in the port of Malo and four miles from land, at which cables may be used	Adana Suyu , inland from Porta Melun , a big river and passes by the Adana Kal’esi	an island two miles away on the east side of Mallos
Polcino , twenty miles southwest by west from Solino	city of Tharsus , fifteen miles from the river of Adana	a castle at Malo	Tarsus , a town in a plain three miles or so from the sea	Porto Palé , eighteen miles from the island
Gloriata , twenty miles south by southwest from Polcino and a good landing place from the north	Cydnus , a river dividing Tharsus and running down from the north on its northeastern side	Mouth of river Adena, twenty miles west northwest from the castle [at Malo]	a river, flowing before the town and into which boats may enter	a promontory, from the middle of the sea

the Licça , ten miles southeast from Gloriata and a port	city of Curcus , forty miles from Tharsus
a chain, at the entrance to the northwest of the port	an excellent port, on the northeast side of Curcus
A tower, to the north of the mouth of the port	the headland of Saint Andrew , miles across the strait from Curcus
Valenia, fifteen miles south from the Licia	city of Celephe , ten miles from Curcus
	a river, flowing from the north of Celephe on the east side of the latter
	the gulf of Carmede , starting from Celephe and ten miles long

Fica, a port thirty miles from the gulf of **Carmede**

mouth of river of **Tarsus**, twenty miles west northwest from the mouth of river **Adena**

Curcus , forty miles west southwest from Tarsus
an island, at Curcus
mouth of river Saleffus , ten miles west southwest from Curcus
Lena de Labagaxa , ten miles by the northeasterly and the southwesterly winds and a very flat place
sands on the bottom and shallow water over a mile at Lena de Labagaxa
Portus Pinus , fifteen miles by the southeasterly and northwesterly winds from Lena de Labagaxa

a tower, at the mouth of the river
Görgös , a ruined castle
a harbour in front of the ruined castle
ruined buildings, on either side of the harbour
an islet, on which is a ruined castle, opposite the harbour with a good channel for anchoring
Silifke , a castle in good condition on a lofty place about seven miles inland from the sea and twelve miles from Görgös
Silifke Burnu , six miles from the castle, also called Ponta Dilagaşa , a thin and low promontory and at the tip of which the sea is shallow

a small hill, towards the promontory near the sea with drinking water
a gulf, between Mallos and Barboun and thirty fathom deep
Tarsos , one mile from Mallos and a huge place on the plain
a river, [in Tarsos] which the fishing boats can enter
a tower at the mouth of the river, where one casts anchor
Kourkos , a little castrum one mile from Tarsos , with a high hill above it
a high hill above [Kourkos]

<p>Sichin, a castrum ten miles from Fica</p>	<p>Portus Cavalerius, ten miles by four points west of southwest from Portus Pinus and a good anchorage</p>	<p>Ak Liman, also called Aya Todora, whose hinterland is low-lying, six miles northwest from the cape and a natural harbour⁸⁴²</p>	<p>an island, opposite Kourkos with a castrum above it, whose channel is for sailing</p>
<p>an island, before Sichin</p>	<p>Portus Prodensalius, fifteen miles by the east and by the west winds from Portus Cavalerius walls on the reef and anchorage nearby [Portus Prodensalius]</p>	<p>Aya Todora, a ruined castle outside the entrance to the harbour</p>	<p>a castrum, on the island</p>
<p>a certain river, ten miles from Sichin</p>	<p>Sequin, sixty miles by four points west of southwest from the reef of Prodensalius</p>	<p>a river on the southwest side of the castle</p>	<p>a channel, between the island and the castrum on the mainland</p>
<p>river of Stanimura, fifteen miles from that certain river</p>		<p>Uskuvi Purvinsalu, an island, to the west of the river, two miles away from the mainland, on which there is drinking water</p>	<p>Seleukeia, twelve miles away [from Kourkos] and a great castrum on a small hill</p>
<p>city of Stanimura to the southwest of the river Stanimura</p>	<p>a river, at Sequin that flows into the sea</p>	<p>a rock, northwest to the island and visible above the water</p>	<p>Tongue of Pagasa, five or six miles away [from Seleukeia] and submerged in the sea after five miles into the open sea; at the end of high hills if one sails from Kourkos</p>

⁸⁴² The English and Turkish translations provide conflicting descriptions about *Ak Liman*. I am grateful for the assistance by M. Morita, PhD candidate at the University of Tokyo and a junior fellow at the Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (Turkey), regarding the meaning of the relevant Ottoman text and the accompanying illustration in f. 377/a and f. 378/a. Ökte, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. Vol. 4, 1584, 1588. Pers. comm. 3 May 2017.

island of Cyprus, sixty miles across the strait to the south from **Stanimura**

a river, extending from **Stanimura** to the **castrum of the Lombards**

city of **Candellorum**, in the northwest of the **castrum of the Lombards**

city of **Sathaliam**, one hundred and fifty-four miles from city of **Candellorum**

city of **Anthiocetha**, fifty miles from **Staniumura**

Stallimuri, twenty miles by the northeasterly and southwesterly winds from **Sequin**

Calandrus, thirty miles by both the southwesterly and northwesterly winds from **Stallimuri**

Salmode, twenty-five miles by four points northwest towards west from **Calandrus**

Anthioceta, twenty miles between west and northwest from **Salmode**

Küsüre Adası, another island near the coast, also a safe harbour

Beş Parmak, ten miles southwest from **Küsüre Adası**, an island-like roundish cape with shelters on both sides where fresh water is available, also called **Kavu Kolador**

Pırasa Adası, a roundish island opposite **Beş Parmak**, whose channel is good for big ships

İzile Dale Ventura, two islets between **Pırasa Adası** and **Gilindire**

a river opposite these two islets **İzile Dale Ventura**

Gilindire, five miles from **Pırasa Adası**, a ruined castle on a promontory by the sea facing east

Ikones, a gulf six miles away [from **Tongue of Pagasa**] and a good harbour

Hagios Theodoros, an islet opposite to the mouth [of the gulf]

Skogion Probentzale, a large island twelve miles from **Hagios Theodoros** with a good harbour; one casts anchor holding prows towards the middle of the island

an island towards the east [of **Skogion Probentzale**] is clear

dryland near the promontory, to the west [of **Skogion Probentzale**]

Port Kavalieri, a promontory twelve miles west of **Skogion Probentzale** and resembling an island

<p>A small harbour that small ships may enter, before the ruined castle of Gilindire</p>	
<p>Yeni Anamur, a ruined castle a bit inland from the sea</p> <p>a big river, flowing down before the castle the sea opposite the river, a good anchorage</p> <p>Eski Anamur situated on a promontory with the Anamur castle visible on the mountain from a distance, thus a good landmark</p> <p>a good shelter on the eastern side below the castle in Eski Anamur, in which bargias could lie</p> <p>Kalatiran, fifteen miles from Anamur, an inlet with good anchorage on the western side</p>	<p>the beach of Axaza, from the promontory [of Port Kavalieri] and forty miles long</p> <p>Prasonisin, an island two miles away from the land and midway along the beach [of Axaza]</p> <p>Axaza, a river near the promontory to the west</p> <p>Koukouvaia, a high and reddish promontory</p> <p>Siki, six miles from the promontory [of Koukouvaia] and a small castrum on a small hill two miles away from the sea appearing white from afar</p> <p>a narrow islet below [Siki], where ships stay during summer weather</p> <p>Drakontais, a river fifteen miles from the islet</p>
<p>a pointed mountain called Handu, at Kalatiran</p>	<p>Anemourin, twelve miles away [from Drakontais], a big castrum standing on the promontory</p>

Kızılhisar, a ruined castle on its western side

Selindi, a river, to the west of the fortress

Ahmedce, a ruined castle to the west of the river and situated on a roundish, island-like cape, called by the Franks

Kastalu Lombarda or alternatively **Top Hisari**

Alaiyye, twenty miles northwest by west

below the castrum of **Anemourin**, one moors in the summer

a small gulf called **Chalantron**, fifteen miles from **Anemourin**

a fair anchorage, at the promontory on the west side of the gulf

a high round hill called **Chalantron**, above into the gulf

2.9 Conclusion and four future avenues of research

Even with many primary textual sources focusing on Ayacium, there is some textual evidence regarding Western merchants' activities elsewhere in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, such as those found in the complaint of Zibaldone da Canal in the fourteenth century over absence of a uniform unit of measurements in the Armenian kingdom.⁸⁴³ Measuring the extent of such trading activities along the Cilician coast, however, requires historical information oftentimes not available in the primary textual and archaeological sources. Portolan charts and handbooks, in contrast, offer systematic data for answering my question. Viewed together, these two sources contain differences regarding their presentation of Cilician coastal places. I devised the spatial parameter for collecting data from the portolan charts, thus limiting my focus to places between Antiozeta (near Güney Köy in the Antalya province) and Licia (Latakia in Syria). From the sixteen selected portolan charts between 1313 and 1480, I discovered that Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus became red in later portolan charts, a phenomenon not seen in the textual sources. As there is yet to be consensus among cartographical historians regarding the criteria for places to be marked red, except that the colour signifies importance, I developed a different approach to explore potential contributing factors to the importance of such places. In particular, I emphasised the concepts of thematic layers and time-depth, so systematic data in the primary sources are not conflated for producing a synthetic interpretation without taking into account the uneven amount of data for Cilician coastal places during this period.

⁸⁴³ Cf. footnote 154.

To explain the changing importance seen on selected portolan charts through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, I then examined various geospatial patterns regarding medieval Cilician maritime landscape found in other primary sources. I viewed these geospatial patterns as separate palimpsests of the medieval Cilician maritime landscape indicating different aspects of human activities along the coast. Including these geospatial patterns was necessary, as the space between place-names on the portolan charts is empty. To fill this void, I examined potential causes of the geospatial pattern of fortress control in Rough Cilicia and analysed various maritime landscape characterisations. Instead of combining these patterns to arrive at a synthetic interpretation regarding the extent of Western merchants' activities along the coast, I acknowledged the conflicting information conveyed by my selected primary sources: the portolan charts, the witness list in 1198 and the portolan handbooks. Adhering to the principles of thematic layers and time-depth, I did not conflate the geospatial patterns found in these three sets of primary sources to explain the changing importance of Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus. These two principles are important for my analysis because they recognise the unevenness of historical information found in the textual and archaeological sources for medieval Cilician coastal places. This recognition also points to specific needs for future data collection.

My first examination, in 2.7, focused on Palopoli and its connection with other fortresses in Rough Cilicia based on the witness list to Lewon I's coronation in 1198. Though the witness list may not be complete and the significance for the order of names is still debated, it nevertheless contains a geospatial pattern of fortress control that distinguishes Rough Cilicia from Plain Cilicia. Because there is a lack of archaeological data regarding economic activities and settlements around these medieval Cilician places, I examined the extent to which topographical relief in

Rough Cilicia influenced the geospatial pattern of fortress control by calculating the travel time between nine selected places. This smaller study area eliminated the uncertainty over the location of some other place-names in western Rough Cilicia. With limitations of the elevation data and methodology, I found that the topographical relief, as a basis of calculating travelling time, was not the decisive factor for the geospatial pattern of fortress-control among the nine selected locations.

My second examination focused on historic characterisations of Cilician maritime landscape in the portolan handbooks. My analysis of the inter-relationship between a place and its reference points showed increasing details and precision regarding descriptions of medieval Cilician maritime landscape over time. Recognising points of reference as underpinning the narrative of such sailing instructions, I tabulated these selected texts by showing the number of times a place is referred to as a point of reference. My tabulations show clusterings around different identifiable place-names along the medieval Cilician coast, when a place is referred to more than once. Notably, places further inland were also included in these texts on maritime travel: Tarsus, Adana and Malmistra. While these places could be reached through navigable rivers, their inclusion also highlights the presence of Western merchants not just at the Cilician coastal port such as Ayacium, but also further inland. Disembarking at Tarsus, the Western merchants could reach the Cilician Gates (modern Gülek Pass) to the north before reaching the Anatolian Plateau. Malmistra presents a different case of extended maritime transportation network further inland. In Figure 2-16, the Pyramus river is depicted as wider and longer than the rivers leading to either Adana or Tarsus, extending beyond Malmistra. This raises the possibility of Western mercantile presence further inland from Malmistra. The surface

survey finds recently carried out in the Adana province may yield supporting ceramic evidence for such Western mercantile presence inland.⁸⁴⁴

This analytical approach to portolan handbooks allowed me to take into account those places not identifiable with a modern location along the coast. This inclusion of unidentifiable places also enabled me to carry out a systematic analysis of the texts, instead of cherry-picking descriptions of identifiable places for a synthetic interpretation. As regards the reverse sailing direction found in *Lo Compasso*,⁸⁴⁵ it is premature to determine any correlation between this sailing and direction and the non-Latin language in which the text was preserved. It is equally hasty to associate this reverse sailing direction from Rough Cilicia towards Syria with non-Latin medieval portolan handbooks from the Western Mediterranean. For the Greek portolan handbook edited by Delatte, one manuscript, ‘P’,⁸⁴⁶ contains such a reverse sailing direction, different from all the other four manuscripts for the same text in Greek. The text in ‘P’ takes up 85 folios of this manuscript, contains corrections by a second scribe and shows an influence of the vernacular Greek language.⁸⁴⁷ Notably, ‘P’ contains more information than other manuscripts, including an additional chapter on the Eastern Mediterranean coastline.⁸⁴⁸ Because the beginning and the end of the text seem missing, the text can at best be dated to the fifteenth century.⁸⁴⁹ Regarding this text edited by Delatte, the extent of Byzantine influence is also yet to be examined. Judging from the lack of systematic examination of sea-faring practices and

⁸⁴⁴ Cf. footnote 173.

⁸⁴⁵ Cf. 2.8.3.

⁸⁴⁶ Paris, BnF, ms. Grec. 1416.

⁸⁴⁷ Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, xv.

⁸⁴⁸ Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, xvi.

⁸⁴⁹ Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs*, xvi.

knowledge in extant late-Byzantine texts,⁸⁵⁰ this particular text may provide insight into an aspect of life in the Byzantine empire hitherto unexplored by modern historians. The results from this textual analysis are also mixed. Ayacium did not appear in the earliest portolan handbook, thus confirming its prominence being only pronounced in the late thirteenth century in the textual sources. For Alexandretta and Palopoli, these portolan handbooks do not show increasing importance coinciding with changes of importance for both seen in the portolan charts. Taking into account the clusterings in these portolan handbooks, however, maritime landscape characterisations became more elaborate for the region to the west of the Seleph river.

These two sets of analyses, regarding fortress control in 1198 in Rough Cilicia and selected medieval portolan handbooks between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, do not reveal the causes of the changing importance of Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus. Instead, they present a more complicated network of potential human activities along the medieval Cilician coast, different from the usual travels recorded in the textual sources from the Eastern Mediterranean to Mesopotamia and Iran through Ayacium.

While my conclusions from these three sets of geospatial phenomena only indicate the wider geographical extent of merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast, the causes of the three places' changing importance need to be determined based on future acquisition and processing of archaeological data. More targeted archaeological surface surveys in the selected areas in Rough Cilicia, especially those discussed in 2.7 and elsewhere along the Cilician coast will be useful. Even if only in a fragmentary form due to the exposure to the elements and local

⁸⁵⁰ O. A. W. Dilke, "Cartography in the Byzantine Empire," in *History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 258.

urban and infrastructure developments, these new archaeological data on surface finds in the region will be a better basis for any future GIS modelling. In addition to future new archaeological data, there are four avenues of future research that can be built upon my findings above, despite some restricting circumstances.

The first is the development of local economy and Western trading activities after the Mamluk conquest in 1375. The portolan charts show signs of continuing diffusion of Western mercantile activities in Cilicia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such a trend raises two questions. Were similar goods and commodities traded under the Mamluks and other rulers during the pre-Ottoman periods? Were these trading activities regulated in similar ways by the new rulers? These two questions should also be considered alongside two structural changes in trade: the centre of gravity for Western trade was shifting from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic; the expansion of the Ottoman empire around the this region. After the conquest of Cilicia in the sixteenth century, the Armenian population and the catholicosate were subject to the authority of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, set up in 1461 as the ecclesiastical and civil head of the Armenians in the empire.⁸⁵¹ Because of this new governance structure over the region, the Cilician economy under the Ottoman government should be the subject of a separate analysis.

The second is to emulate work undertaken by R. T. Callaghan⁸⁵² to simulate coastal voyages along the Cilician coast and examine the visibility of those places mentioned in the portolan handbooks. There are also records of Venetian public

⁸⁵¹ A. K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Domination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 29.

⁸⁵² R. T. Callaghan, "Ceramic Age Seafaring and Interaction Potential in the Antilles: A Computer Simulation," *Current Anthropology* 42, no. 2 (2001): 308-313; R. T. Callaghan, "Prehistoric trade between Ecuador and West Mexico: a computer simulation of coastal voyages," *Antiquity* 77, no. 298 (2003): 796-804.

galleys sailing to the Eastern Mediterranean from the thirteenth century onwards,⁸⁵³ which at best show the presence of Venetians at selected places in the kingdom. Though medieval Cilicia was part of this transportation network, the central authority affecting the whole network was based at Venice. Therefore, my focus on the medieval Cilician coast will not be sustained directly by such records. In contrast, simulating coastal voyages along the Cilician coast will be a better approach. Such an approach is especially relevant for the descriptions in the portolan handbooks, which provided instructions for coastal voyages. This method, however, depends on our knowledge of the currents and prevailing winds in different seasons, as well as the type of vessels used, their tonnage and times of sailing. The depictions of hazards such as shoals on the portolan charts may also add to our knowledge of maritime conditions for coastal sailing in such a future endeavour.⁸⁵⁴ The differences between portolan handbooks also point to discretion left to the captain of a voyage. Such discretion could be accommodated by agent-based modelling, but taking into account all these factors in order to produce simulations is clearly beyond the scope of my doctoral thesis.

The third avenue of future research concerns medieval ceramic finds from the region of Cilicia, especially the ceramics often labelled as Port Saint Symeon Ware.⁸⁵⁵ It will be of interest to examine the geospatial distribution of Port Saint Symeon Ware finds at various archaeological sites in eastern Plain Cilicia. Currently, the pottery finds from the survey in the İskenderun Bay region directed by A. E. Killebrew⁸⁵⁶ are

⁸⁵³ D. Stöckly, *Le Système de l'Incanto des Galées du Marché à Venise (Fin XIIIe-milieu XVe Siècle)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 121-124.

⁸⁵⁴ For an example of hazards depicted in the portolan charts, cf. footnote 464.

⁸⁵⁵ For my discussion of such glazed ware and its implications for the history of medieval Cilician economy, cf. 1.2.

⁸⁵⁶ A. E. Killebrew et al., "Summary of the 2007 Cilicia Survey (İskenderun Bay Region)," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantıları* 26, no. 3 (2008): 227-238.

still being analysed.⁸⁵⁷ Those at Malmistra, directed by A. L. D'Agata (CNR-ISMA) and G. Salmeri (Università di Pisa), are still being excavated and conserved.⁸⁵⁸ Therefore, future research analysing the geospatial distribution of these ceramics finds must await publications by these archaeologists.

The fourth future avenue of research concerns the portolan charts themselves. My analyses in this chapter drew only on information regarding the Cilician coast, i.e., comparison of selected portolan charts. The convention of the dichotomous colour scheme creates a hierarchy of Mediterranean coastal places in each portolan chart. These hierarchies of coastal places from various portolan charts thus are distinct palimpsests of a Mediterranean-wide transportation network whose constituents, i.e., the coastal places, were connected one with another on varying levels of intensity. The lack of historical and archaeological data measuring the relative importance of each place noted in this chapter will be compounded by the geographical extent of such hierarchies. Nevertheless, these hierarchies are datasets of a Mediterranean maritime transportation network that can be viewed as a complex system because no reducible parts can explain the constitution or changes of the whole system embodied by each of these hierarchies.⁸⁵⁹ As shown in my analyses, the changing importance of Palopoli is not explicable solely by topography, but may be the result of human responses to the environment and their own needs.⁸⁶⁰ Designing a method appraising the characteristics of complex systems sustaining each hierarchy of importance of

⁸⁵⁷ A. E. Killebrew, Associate Professor, Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Jewish Studies, and Anthropology, The Pennsylvania State University. Pers. comm. 2 November 2016.

⁸⁵⁸ Pers. comm. 20 October 2016.

⁸⁵⁹ J. Preiser-Kapeller, "Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems - A Thematic Introduction," in *Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems: International Workshop "Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems" at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, 17.-18.10.2013, within the Framework of the Special Research Programme (DFG-SPP 1630) "Harbours from the Roman Period to the Middle Ages"*, ed. J. Preiser-Kapeller and F. Daim (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2015), 1.

⁸⁶⁰ Preiser-Kapeller, "Harbours and Maritime Networks," 12.

Mediterranean places on these portolan charts is beyond the scope of my doctoral thesis. The availability of portolan charts from the period between 1300 and 1500, I argue, also offers a series of datasets illustrating relative importance of Mediterranean coastal places. Such complete coverage of datasets over such a wide region is not matched by other similar systematic datasets from the medieval period. For example, records of clergy appointment can be used as proxy for geospatial distribution of population or the proportion of a particular demographic belonging to a denomination, as were those used by S. Vryonis, Jr. as the basis for his thesis about declining Hellenism in medieval Anatolia between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.⁸⁶¹ The extent to which a clergy appointment to a bishopric reflected the level of local population, however, is questionable during a period when clergy appointments became titular as the control of the bishoprics was lost.

Analysing portolan charts also presents one advantage consistent sets of data regarding all parts of the Mediterranean coast. This feature of portolan charts provides a viable basis to reduce the risk of ‘overlooking the significance of regional and local connectivity’ seen in efforts to model maritime transportation networks in a Mediterranean region or across the whole Mediterranean.⁸⁶²

To conclude, recognising the value of portolan charts as a primary source led to the question over significance of changes observed in them. Since there are no relevant geographical or social contexts in these portolan charts, I turned to the witness list in 1198 and portolan handbooks because these two sources contained geospatial patterns that include places also found in the portolan charts. The result of examinations regarding these two primary sources revealed indications of Western

⁸⁶¹ S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971).

⁸⁶² Preiser-Kapeller, “Harbours and Maritime Networks,” 18.

merchants' activities being more widespread than those seen in strictly mercantile textual sources (the notarial deeds). Because the most relevant research of medieval civilian settlements in Rough Cilicia is not accessible to me,⁸⁶³ I could only point out the increasing importance of these three places, i.e., Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus. These three sets of geospatial patterns, however, do indicate that merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast, under the Armenian kingdom, were not limited to Ayacium. Causes for the changing importance of different parts of the medieval Cilician coast, however, will need to be identified through future collection of archaeological data.

⁸⁶³ Cf. footnote 1288.

3 Regulating rights of Western merchants: the case of the Armenian kingdom within a comparative framework

In Chapter Two, I found that the Western merchants' activities were more widespread than was indicated by the medieval textual sources and relevant archaeological data between the 1300 and 1500. In the selected portolan charts, Tarsus became an important location in the first half of the fourteenth century, while Alexandretta and Palopoli became more important in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁸⁶⁴ To find the cause of such a change in importance of these three places, I examined two sources of importance for a place: a place's accessibility as determined by its surrounding topography⁸⁶⁵ and the importance of a place for a coastal-sailing ship.⁸⁶⁶ With GIS modelling, I demonstrated the insignificance of topography for influencing the relative importance of places in Rough Cilicia, including Palopoli. Using the method of historic landscape characterisation, I found that the attention paid by the portolan handbooks to the Rough Cilician coast increased over time. Such discoveries show that Ayacium was not the only place of Western merchants' activities between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. While causes for changing importance of those three Cilicia places remain to be determined in the future by collecting targeted archaeological data, the wider geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia raises another question: what was the institutional context in which these Western merchants embarked on their business activities in medieval Cilicia? My discoveries from Chapter Two point to Western merchants' activities at places that are less well-documented than Ayacium in the textual sources, in particular Alexandretta and Palopoli. Focusing on the institutional contexts as encountered by these merchants only at Ayacium is

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. 2.7.

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. 2.8.

thus no longer sufficient, despite more abundant textual sources describing the socio-economic and political contexts of this particular city. To ascertain the ways in which Western merchants abided by the local rules in the region, I propose to examine the ways in which the Armenian kings regulated the rights and privileges of the Western merchants in the kingdom. These concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice regarding their respective trading activities in the kingdom show the overall approaches adopted by the Armenian kings to these merchants and their business practices.

Based on preliminary comparisons between those Armenian concessions to Genoa and those to Venice, as will be demonstrated below in 3.1, I will identify, as a key aspect of regulating Western merchants, the question over dispute settlement. The methods of dispute settlement in the Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice are important because these methods reflect various rights that are implicated in the process of solving a dispute between merchants. These rights could be affected by the choice of a competent authority as well as sources of law. Though there is textual evidence for disputes and claims of damage from the medieval period, applicable sources of law for such disputes have not yet received any systematic analyses by economic historians. This lack of analyses is a result of an absence of records for dispute settlements among merchants, which took place at the most convenient or advantageous forum or without recourse to any competent public authority at all. Despite the absence of such records, dispute settlement remains crucial in understanding the merchants' activities in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean for two reasons. First, mass movements of Crusaders, merchants and pilgrims guaranteed the occurrence of such issues, especially for those Westerners residing in the region for an extended period of time. Second, there were also legal codifications taking place that concerned trading activities and contracts around the Mediterranean between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, leading to 'qualitative changes'

to managing commercial activities.⁸⁶⁷ Statutes and regulations of navigation and trading issued by Venice, one of the main cities dominant in the medieval Mediterranean trade, were compiled in the thirteenth century.⁸⁶⁸ It is premature to argue for the emergence of a rule-based institutional framework in the medieval Mediterranean trade, because there is yet to be a comparison of these regulations. Nevertheless, the need to solve such disputes of various kinds yielded a wealth of examples for such processes in practice across the Mediterranean. Without records of actual proceedings of dispute settlement, however, I will only focus on one particular aspect related to dispute settlement: recognition of Western merchants' rights. The most numerous textual sources for the medieval Mediterranean trade, i.e., notarial deeds or contracts among merchants, usually did not stipulate procedures for solving a dispute. In contrast, textual evidence of such a process is better documented in concessional texts granted by rulers around the medieval Eastern Mediterranean to merchants from around the Western Mediterranean. These texts issued by the Armenians, in Table 3-1, are similar in form: the voice is either 'I' or 'we' and the main verbs of these concessions are 'I grant' or 'we grant'.⁸⁶⁹ As one document usually contains more than one privilege or right, I call them 'concessions' in 'a concessional text'. Because of the diplomatic practice to seal a concessional document with a golden seal, the documents containing concessions from the Armenian kings and the Byzantine emperors are also called chrysobull (bullae aurea in Latin). Viewed as a whole, these concessional texts concern various aspects of the presence and activities of the Western merchants around the Eastern Mediterranean. Amongst these aspects, lists of regulated goods and preferential rates of taxation have been the main focus of economic historians. These two are good indicators of economic and trading activities carried

⁸⁶⁷ R. J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes: La Representació Medieval d'una Mar Solcada* (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2007), 415.

⁸⁶⁸ R. Predelli and A. Sacerdoti, eds., *Gli Statuti Marittimi Veneziani fino al 1255* (Venice: Visentini Cav. Federico, 1903). For the example of Barcelona, which secured royal approval from the Crown of Aragon for new ordinances regulating merchants in 1258, cf. Pujades i Bataller, *Les Cartes Portolanes*, 420 endnote 27.

⁸⁶⁹ For example, 'concedo', 'concedimus', etc.

out by these Western merchants both locally around the Eastern Mediterranean and across the whole region. They nevertheless form but one of the five aspects of Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice. In addition to the tax reduction or exemption for trading activities or specified merchandise, V. Langlois points out the other four features of these Armenian concessions: disposition in case of damage or shipwreck, disposition of inheritance, civil and criminal lawsuits and the legal status of a person.⁸⁷⁰ For analysing the contents of the Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice, however, the classifications made by J. Riley-Smith are more useful. Riley-Smith divides the contents of concessions from the Crusader rulers to the Western merchants into three categories: territorial, jurisdictional and commercial. Territorial privileges include the gift or donation of sites or quarters to build lodging, churches and other facilities for merchants. Jurisdictional privileges concern the legal status of a merchant on issues both related and un-related to commercial activities, as well as the scope of power of the resident officials from the merchants' cities. Commercial privileges include tax exemptions or reduced customs dues for specified commodities.⁸⁷¹

The question of regulating Western merchants' rights is related to the jurisdictional aspect pointed out by Riley-Smith in the case of Crusader kingdoms. The legal status of a person, in this case a Western merchant, however, was subject to regulation and recognition by a local ruler in the host society. The resulting recognised rights and privileges in the concessions were a result of accommodating conflicting rights of the Western merchants, thus these rights and privileges were negotiated orders⁸⁷² protecting or affecting the merchants. This question of conflicting rights has only received a cursory glance in economic

⁸⁷⁰ V. Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie sous les rois de la dynastie Roupénienne, d'après les documents orientaux et occidentaux conservés dans les dépôts d'archives de l'Europe," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 7e série, vol. 3, no. 3 (1860): 16.

⁸⁷¹ J. Riley-Smith, "Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants," in *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*, by J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), XI 109.

⁸⁷² For my discussion on this term, cf. 1.4.

historians' discussions. The more detailed compilation of such examples remains that of R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond.⁸⁷³ This compilation, however, only aims to show the variety of medieval merchants' practices documented in writing,⁸⁷⁴ not the development of trade regulations and accommodating conflicting rights. These textual sources, the majority of them commercial contracts, also present a challenge: the expansive geographical area they cover. While these documents reflected the similar business practices of these merchants from around the Western Mediterranean, the socio-economic contexts in which these activities took place across the Mediterranean were not uniform. These uneven and dissimilar developments of socio-economic conditions around the Mediterranean are later the cause of different starting points for the Commercial Revolution in different Mediterranean regions.⁸⁷⁵

This chapter focuses on one of these disparate socio-economic contexts, specifically the way in which a particular host society regulated various rights of the Western merchants. The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, wedged between Anatolia, Syria and the Eastern Mediterranean, was central to Western mercantile activities between land-bound and maritime traffic in the region.⁸⁷⁶ Langlois even characterises the kingdom as embodying a mixed system combining traditions brought to Cilicia by the Armenians and the feudalism advanced by the Frankish presence through the Crusades.⁸⁷⁷ Instead of examining these two legal traditions, I will focus on the concessional texts issued by the Armenian kings to Genoa and Venice, to assess the rights of the Western merchants in the kingdom. I focus on the regulations by the Armenians concerning Genoa and Venice for three reasons: a well-defined period, the extant successive concessional texts issued by the Armenian kings and the

⁸⁷³ R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, trans., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), 266-337.

⁸⁷⁴ Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, 5.

⁸⁷⁵ Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, 6.

⁸⁷⁶ M. F. Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages 1100-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 38.

⁸⁷⁷ Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie," 1.

viability of comparing Armenian concessions with those issued by the Byzantines and Crusaders.

First, this is a well-defined temporal breadth, i.e., from 1198 to 1375, for analysing these regulations. The possibility of any change in regulation being accidental or due to the preservation of particular examples is thus reduced by this longer temporal breadth rather than merely focusing on one or two particular texts. Moreover, the Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice consist of two series of texts indicating different approaches to Genoese and Venetian merchants' rights. As will be shown below, the differences between these two series of concessions to Genoa and Venice were not accidental, but signified developing approaches on the part of the Armenians in regulating the Western merchants' activities in the kingdom. Thus, my analyses in this chapter do not cover Western merchants' activities in Cilicia after 1375, because of the available textual evidence.

Second, concessions of the Armenian kings offer a systematic and continuous focus on Western merchants' rights preserved in writing. There is textual evidence for potential earlier Venetian activities in Cilicia, e.g., in a chrysobull issued by the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos in 1082.⁸⁷⁸ The geographical extent and nature of such Venetian activities in the region, however, is not clear for this earlier period. In contrast, there is more archaeological and textual evidence attributable to the period of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia. Such evidence of economic activities, however, is of a disparate nature for interpreting the development of economic and specifically trading activities in the region. As already shown in 2.4 and 2.5, the currently available archaeological data are insufficient for such a purpose. The amount of textual evidence regarding both government decisions as well as activities of individuals generated around the Western Mediterranean and related to Cilicia,

⁸⁷⁸ Cf. footnote 15.

increased while the Crusader powers in Syria weakened.⁸⁷⁹ This indicates Cilicia's important position for trading in the Eastern Mediterranean for the Western merchants. Among such textual sources related to the kingdom, Langlois produced the first comprehensive list from his search in the archives in Europe.⁸⁸⁰ In a separate essay, Langlois also provided a list of textual evidence regarding the diplomatic exchanges between the kingdom and the papacy, along with the concessions issued to Western merchants and military orders,⁸⁸¹ as well as the types of contents in all these documents.⁸⁸² While these two compilations by Langlois include the Armenian kings' interactions with various merchants' cities, military orders and the papacy, I will focus only on those Armenian concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice. While I also included those Armenian concessions made to Genoa in my subsequent analysis in 3.1, I will particularly focus on the Armenian concessions made to Venice in my final analysis in 3.4. This particular focus is based on three preparatory documents related to Armeno-Venetian negotiations. To my knowledge, there are no equivalent preparatory documents related to the Armeno-Genoese negotiations. In his most recent edition of Armenian concessional texts to Venice,⁸⁸³ A. Sopracasa contends that these three preparatory documents departed from the model seen in other Armenian concessions, because these three documents' contents are different from other Armenian concessions to Venice.⁸⁸⁴ I will argue, instead, that these three preparatory documents present the actual range of issues discussed during the Armeno-Venetian negotiations.

Third, there are other comparable examples for regulating Western merchants' rights in the region in this period preserved in the same language, i.e., Latin. These other

⁸⁷⁹ A. Sopracasa, ed., *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia, 1201-1333* (Rome: Viella, 2001), 15.

⁸⁸⁰ V. Langlois, ed., *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie* (Venice: Typographie arménienne de Saint-Lazare, 1863), ii.

⁸⁸¹ Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie," 21-37.

⁸⁸² Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie," 14.

⁸⁸³ Cf. footnote 1175.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. footnotes 1190 and 1254.

concessional texts provide examples of similar Genoese and Venetian commercial practices leading to different issues being negotiated in different socio-political and economic circumstances. In addition, Latin translations were produced for almost all these concessional texts issued by the Armenians, Byzantines and Crusaders to Genoa and Venice. These texts, consequently, provide a basis for evaluating different issues in different host societies around the Eastern Mediterranean within the same repertoire of language and vocabulary for the legal status of Western merchants and the relative significance such legal status for Genoa and Venice. There is also textual evidence that diplomatic practice in the Armenian kingdom was influenced by the Byzantine empire and the Crusaders: the first Armenian grantor, Lewon I (r. 1198-1219) was influenced by the Greek language because he signed his name with the Greek alphabet⁸⁸⁵ and by other earlier concessional texts issued by the Crusaders to Venice.⁸⁸⁶ Thus, concessions from the Byzantines and the Crusaders are comparable examples.

There are three stages of analyses in this chapter. First, I will review the Armenian concessional texts to Genoa and Venice and compare what was regulated in these concessions. The differences between these two series of Armenian concessions are then compared with those concessions issued by the Byzantines and the Crusaders in the same period and earlier to Genoa and Venice. In particular, the provisions in these texts regarding the administration of justice within a resident merchant community will be singled out and explored further to account for the differences among various concessions. To explain the different regulations from these Eastern Mediterranean rulers, I will rely on similar terms, i.e., court and customary practice, found in the Latin version of these concessions in 3.2.

⁸⁸⁵ Langlois, "Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie," 12; Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 16. Also, cf. footnote 1342.

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. footnote 937.

Second, I will discuss in 3.3 the limitations of this approach, i.e., focusing on similar terms found in different texts. Acknowledging these limitations, I will then point to the distinct textual form and voice of three particular additional texts related to Armeno-Venetian relations. I define here the term textual form as signifying the purpose of a text and its audience. I view textual evidence to be discussed below as consisting of statements of various purposes, e.g., a threat, a promise or a declaration. The voice is the perspective of the speaker in a text. In the Armenian concessions, the voice is often ‘I’ or ‘we’, i.e., the king in question.⁸⁸⁷

Third, I will focus in 3.4 on these three particular texts that were related to the Armenian concessions analysed in 3.1. These texts contain evidence of negotiations between the Armenians and Venice in a dialogic form, outlining the range of issues discussed or to be discussed. In the conclusion that follows, I will argue that analysing such texts containing records of negotiation is crucial in understanding the significance of the concessions produced after such negotiations. Including these texts, which recorded the interactions between two parties, also more clearly indicates the range of issues considered by the Armenian kings before the latter issued concessions to the Western merchants. To illustrate my analyses, I have also included excerpted text in the footnotes throughout this chapter. In the Appendix, I provide translations for all seven Armenian concessional texts, two reports and one instruction edited by Sopracasa, as well as three Armenian concessional texts to Genoa.

⁸⁸⁷ Cf. Table 3-4.

Table 3-1. Dates of concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice⁸⁸⁸

Grantee	Venice			Genoa		
Grantor	Armenia	Byzantium ⁸⁸⁹	Antioch	Armenia	Byzantium	Antioch
Date		992 ⁸⁹⁷				
	1201 ⁸⁹⁰	1082 ⁸⁹⁸	[1098-1099] ⁹⁰⁷		1155 ⁹¹⁸	1127 ⁹²⁶
	1245 ⁸⁹¹	1126 ⁸⁹⁹	[1103-1112] ⁹⁰⁸		1192 ⁹¹⁹	1144 ⁹²⁷
	1261 ⁸⁹²	1147 ⁹⁰⁰	[1126-1131] ⁹⁰⁹	1201 ⁹¹⁴	1193 ⁹²⁰	1169 ⁹²⁸
	1272 ⁸⁹³	1148 ⁹⁰¹		1215 ⁹¹⁵	1199 ⁹²¹	1189 ⁹²⁹
	1307 ⁸⁹⁴	1187 ⁹⁰²	1140 ⁹¹⁰	1288 ⁹¹⁶	1201 ⁹²²	1190 ⁹³⁰
	1321 ⁸⁹⁵	1189 ⁹⁰³	1153 ⁹¹¹	1289 ⁹¹⁷	1261 ⁹²³	1199 ⁹³¹
	1333 ⁸⁹⁶	1198 ⁹⁰⁴	1167 ⁹¹²		[1270-	1205 ⁹³²
		1265 ⁹⁰⁵	1183 ⁹¹³		1278] ⁹²⁴	1216 ⁹³³
		1277 ⁹⁰⁶			1278 ⁹²⁵	

⁸⁸⁸ I have included here only those concessions in the voice of the grantors. For discussion of different voices in concessions and other related textual evidence of diplomatic exchanges, cf. the examples from Armeno-Venetian relations in Table 3-4 in this chapter. For the principality of Antioch, I included those before the Mamluk capture of Antioch in 1268. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 50; for reasons of including the principality of Antioch and the Byzantine empire in my comparison, cf. 3.2 below.

⁸⁸⁹ I have not included any concessions issued by those Greek-speaking rulers between 1204 and 1261, except one example from Theodore I Laskaris (cf. footnote 1117) and another from Michael VIII Palaiologos (cf. footnote 923) to illustrate my argument in 3.2.2 below.

⁸⁹⁰ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 26-30.

⁸⁹¹ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 35-38.

⁸⁹² Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 43-46.

⁸⁹³ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 57-60.

⁸⁹⁴ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 69-77, 78-79.

⁸⁹⁵ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 89-93.

⁸⁹⁶ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 109-112.

⁸⁹⁷ M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, eds., *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1993), 21-25.

⁸⁹⁸ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 35-45.

⁸⁹⁹ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 51-56.

⁹⁰⁰ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 60-65.

⁹⁰¹ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 70-75.

⁹⁰² Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 84-87, 88-89 and 90-99.

⁹⁰³ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 105-110.

⁹⁰⁴ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 119-137.

⁹⁰⁵ M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani, eds., *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1996), 26-47.

⁹⁰⁶ Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 79-110.

⁹⁰⁷ It was mentioned in the concessions, issued in 1153. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig: Mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 1 (Vienna: Aus der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856), 64.

⁹⁰⁸ It was mentioned in the concessions, issued in 1153. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 66.

⁹⁰⁹ It was mentioned in the concessions, issued in 1153. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 95.

⁹¹⁰ Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 102-103.

⁹¹¹ Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 133-135.

⁹¹² Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 148-150.

⁹¹³ Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 175-177.

⁹¹⁴ D. Puncuh, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova, I/2* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1996), 164-166.

⁹¹⁵ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova, I/2*, 168-171.

⁹¹⁶ Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 154-158 (Armenian), 159-162 (Latin); E. Pallavicino, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova, I/7* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 2001), 74-77 (Latin).

3.1 Different approaches by the Armenian kings to Genoese and Venetian merchants

In 1201, the Genoese and the Venetians obtained their respective trade privileges from Lewon I (r. 1198-1219). Only three years earlier, Lewon, an Armenian baron, was crowned king in Tarsus in 1198.⁹³⁴ The significance of these privileges cannot be overemphasised for both Lewon as a crowned king and for the Holy Roman Emperor, who sought to counter the Frankish dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean because of the Crusades.⁹³⁵ Towards the end of the chrysobull obtained by the Genoese where the authenticity of the translated chrysobull, from Armenian into Latin, is attested, the seal of the Armenian king is described as having a crown on the head, cross in the right hand with ‘a figure akin to a lily’ in the left.⁹³⁶ For these two concessional texts, L. M. Alishan believes

⁹¹⁷ There is no text surviving from this agreement, so I do not include this in my subsequent analyses below. Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 162.

⁹¹⁸ A. Rovere, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/1 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1992), 262-264.

⁹¹⁹ C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, ed., *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*. Vol. 3 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1942), 51-62.

⁹²⁰ Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*. Vol. 3, 101-107.

⁹²¹ Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*. Vol. 3, 145-147.

⁹²² This is a detailed description of the Genoese quarter in Constantinople by the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195-1203). Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 192-200.

⁹²³ S. Dellacasa, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/4 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1998), 271-285. Although this text is dated 10th July 1261, before the capture of Constantinople later in the same month by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, Michael VIII entered this agreement with Genoa in March 1261 and discussed his concessions to be enjoyed by the Genoese in Constantinople.

⁹²⁴ E. Madia, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/5 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1999), 93-94.

⁹²⁵ Madia, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/5, 127-129.

⁹²⁶ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 152-154.

⁹²⁷ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 154-155.

⁹²⁸ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 157-160.

⁹²⁹ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 160-161.

⁹³⁰ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 162-163.

⁹³¹ C. Baudi di Vesme et al., eds., *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*. Vol. 1 (Turin: Ex officina regia, 1854), 432-433.

⁹³² Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 166-168.

⁹³³ Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 171-172. The grantor is Rupinus, nephew of the Armenian king Lewon I and the cause of the Antiochene succession dispute. Cf. 3.2 below.

⁹³⁴ G. Dédéyan, trans., *La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste P. Gauthner, 1980), 72-73.

⁹³⁵ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 14.

⁹³⁶ “..... in eodem pergameno regis Armeniorum, filii domini Stephani de genere Rupinorum, eius sigilli aurei impressione munitis, in quo erat ab una parte ymago regia sculpta cum corona in capite, tenens in dextera

that they were modelled on those issued by the kings of Jerusalem between 1111 and 1123 to Venice.⁹³⁷ Langlois also observes that the palaeography of the chancery documents from the Armenian kingdom is similar to that found in Syria and Cyprus.⁹³⁸ In his concessions issued to Genoa and Venice in 1201, Lewon I included some similar guarantees and privileges. He permitted merchants from both cities to have freedom of movement into and within the kingdom, guarantee of personal safety and recovery of goods in case of shipwreck, and tax exemption on transactions. There are also differences: the location of merchant activities, the question of gold and silver, the location of dispute settlement and the role of the archbishop of Sis in dispute settlement. The first two points concern different trading activities engaged in by the Genoese and Venetians at different locations. The other two concern the ways in which the Genoese and Venetian merchants were to be protected while in the kingdom.

3.1.1 Different locations for different trading activities

Locations at which Genoese and Venetian merchants engaged in trading were different in 1201. The Genoese were allowed to build a church in Sis while being granted a church both in Malmistra and Tarsus; they were also granted sites to build homes, lodgings and a court (curia)⁹³⁹ in Sis, Malmistra and Tarsus.⁹⁴⁰ In contrast, the Venetians were granted

crucem, in leva vero tenens formam quasi floris lili,” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 166.

⁹³⁷ L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan: Ou L’Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice: S. Lazare, 1899), 442.

⁹³⁸ Langlois, “Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l’Arménie,” 8.

⁹³⁹ ‘Curia’ could mean a governmental function (the council of a king), an institution (a law-court; the court of a manor), an occasion (a session of a law-court) or a physical structure (the court of emperor/king/pope; a courtyard; an estate; a palace), etc. J. F. Niermeyer, comp., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: A Medieval Latin-French/English Dictionary* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 288-290.

⁹⁴⁰ “..... Dono igitur et concedo Ianuensibus requirentibus in regali civitate mea Sisi terram et locum ad edificandam ecclesiam et faciendum fundum et domos et curiam et in civitate Mamista ecclesiam constructam, locum et terram ad faciendum fundum, domos et curiam, similiter in civitate Tharsensi ecclesiam constructam, locum et terram ad faciendum fundum et domos et curiam et quod habeant curiam in omni terra mea que inde nostre subiaceat ditioni et quam Deo dante acquisiturus sum.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 165.

similar sites and facilities only in Malmistra in 1201.⁹⁴¹ Later, the Venetians were further granted a church in Sis and a site for building a house in Ayacium in 1261.⁹⁴² Judging from the number of places which the Genoese and Venetian merchants requested for sustained mercantile presence in 1201, Malmistra was the prime location of Western merchants' activities in the kingdom in that particular year. The locations through which these Genoese and Venetians entered the kingdom were also different. In 1201, the Venetians were exempted from paying a toll when entering the kingdom except at Portella, where Venetians 'always living on this side of the sea' were to cross.⁹⁴³ This indicates that those Venetians residing in the principality of Antioch were required to pay customs due (*driectura*).⁹⁴⁴ While this exceptional charge for the Venetians was repeated in all subsequent concessions, a different exceptional charge was added in the Armenian concessions to Genoa only in 1215. In 1215, Lewon I specified three locations, which were not controlled by the king, where the Genoese were to pay tolls.⁹⁴⁵ These three locations indicate that the Genoese merchants entered the kingdom by sea through *Corc* (Curcus) in the southwest, by land through *Cabban* (Gaban) to the north of Adana and through *Thabaria*. As the Armenian concessions to Venice did not contain similar exceptions at these three places, it is not clear if the Venetian merchants were required to pay tolls at these locations in 1215.

⁹⁴¹ "Concedo denique et dono, pro salute anime mee predecessorumque meorum, Veneticis in civitate Mamistai ecclesiam et victualia pro sacerdote et clerico ecclesie servientibus, et fundum ad ponenda res et mercimonia sua, et locum ad hedificandam domum." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 29 §7.

⁹⁴² "Concedimus autem et damus in civitate Sisye ipsis Venetis ecclesiam et domum, et locum pro domo et victualia pro sacerdote et clerico, qui servient ecclesiam, in memoria predecessorum nostrum, et apud Iatiam dabimus eis locum ad fatiendum domum." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 46 §6.

⁹⁴³ "..... excepto quod Venetici habitantes semper in cismarinis partibus et qui transierint per Portellam, teneantur ibi persolvere driecturam, sicut soli[tus est] ab omnibus Christianibus transeuntibus et retransseuntibus persolvere....." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 27 §2.

⁹⁴⁴ 'Driectura' and its related variant spellings including 'directura' and 'drectura' mean 'right to levy dues' or 'due/tax'. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 336 and 360.

⁹⁴⁵ "..... excepta tamen terra quam dominus Ottho de Thabaria modo tenet et habet et excepta terra que vocatur Corc quam tenet et habet dominus Vaharan marescalcus et excepto passagio quod dominus Leo de Cabban habet in flumine quod vocatur Iahan....." Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 170.

The question of gold and silver indicates that Venetian merchants were engaged in trading activities that required substantial amounts of gold and silver for minting currency, thus drawing the attention of the Armenian kings. In 1201, Lewon I required Venetians to pay dues if they were to mint their gold and silver into currency after entering the kingdom.⁹⁴⁶ Such a requirement was not included in the Armenian concessions to Genoa in 1201, 1215 or 1288. In contrast, this requirement persisted in those made to Venice in 1245,⁹⁴⁷ 1261,⁹⁴⁸ 1272,⁹⁴⁹ 1307,⁹⁵⁰ and 1321.⁹⁵¹ Such a requirement resulted in complaints by the Venetians that the scale at the royal mint was not fair, in a report compiled between 1320 and 1321.⁹⁵² In the same report produced between 1320 and 1321, Lewon IV (r. 1320-1341) also promised to allow Venetians exemption on the gold they were to bring into the kingdom, but not on silver because of the tribute due to the Mamluks.⁹⁵³ This promise by Lewon IV,

⁹⁴⁶ “..... Et excepto quod omnes Venetici qui adduxerint aurum et argentum et bisancios seu monetas, inde [nisi] fecerint vel operati fuerint in terra mea, hii teneantur persolvere dricturam, Quod si bisancios seu monetas non operati fuerint, nullatenus persolvere dricturam teneantur.....” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 27 §2.

⁹⁴⁷ “..... Et excepto quod omnes Venetici qui attulerint aurum et argentum et bisancios seu monetas inde fecerint, teneantur persolvere drecturam sicut persolvunt hii qui bisancios seu monetas operantur in Acconensibus partibus. Quod si bisancios seu monetas non fuerint operati, nullatenus drecturam persolvere teneantur.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 36 §1.

⁹⁴⁸ “..... Et excepto quod omnes Veneti qui attulerint aurum et argentum et inde biçantios seu monetam fecerint, teneantur persolvere dricturam sicut persolvunt hii qui biçantios seu monetam operanti in Acconensibus partibus. Qui, si biçantios seu monetam inde operati non fuerint, nullatenus dricturam persolvere teneantur.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 44 §1.

⁹⁴⁹ “..... Mais tous les Veneciens chi porteront or et argent e vdront coygnier besanç ou monee, si donront la droiture si cum est ceaus chi a Acre donent droiture de besanç ou de monee. E se l’or ou l’argent ne se coigne besans ou monnoye ne dovront nulle droture.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 58 §1.

⁹⁵⁰ “..... Mais tous les Veneciens chi porteront or et argent et voudront cogner besanz o monoie, si donront la droiture ausi come ceaus chi a Acre donoient droiture de besanz o de monoie. E se l’or o l’argent ne s’en cogne besanz ou monoie, non devront nulle droiture.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 71 §1 (version B’).

⁹⁵¹ “..... Mais tous les Venesiens qui porteront or et argent et vdront congner besans ou monee si donront la droiture, ausi com ceaus qui a Acre doneent droiture de besans ou de monee. E se l’or ou argent ne se coigne besans ou monee, ne deront nule droiture.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 90 §1.

⁹⁵² “Item, petiit a nobis prefatus ambaxator, quod deberemus elevare illam stateram quod est in nostra secca, occasione quod reputabatur gravius et maximum pondus sustinebat; unde mercatores sustinebant maximum damnum.....” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 86 §4.

⁹⁵³ “Item, petiit prefatus ambaxator a nobis, quod deberemus permittere omnes mercatores vendere aurum et argentum quod portaverint in nostro regno absque aliquo obstaculo, prout in dicto privilegio eorum continetur. Nostra responsio est, quod omnes qui portaverint aurum possint ipsum vendere ad suum libitum sine aliquo obstaculo, sed quicumque aportaverit argentum, propter necessitatem tributi Saracenorum, volumus quod de argento quod mercatores veneti in regno nostro aportabunt, dabitur medium totius argenti per mercatores

however, is different from the requirement in the subsequent concessions issued to Venice in 1321.⁹⁵⁴ The requirement in 1321 regarding gold and silver was exemption for gold and silver not to be made into currency by the Venetians. This is a significant difference between the report compiled to reflect agreement reached with the Armenian king on various issues, who subsequently issued the concessions to Venice.⁹⁵⁵

3.1.2 Protecting merchants: in the case of dispute settlement

In 1201, Lewon I provided Genoa and Venice with different ways of protecting their merchants in the kingdom. He permitted the Genoese defendants in a lawsuit to be judged at the court of the Genoese.⁹⁵⁶ But if the Genoese wished to bring a case against anyone other than a Genoese, the case should be decided at the royal court. This principle for adjudicating cases does not make any particular distinction between Armenians and ‘all the other people’, for the Genoese.⁹⁵⁷ Of the three chrysobulls issued by the Armenian kings to Genoa, those in 1201 and 1215 mentioned such establishment of a Genoese court (curia): one court for each of the three cities of Sis, Malmistra and Tarsus in 1201 and one in 1215 without specifying its location. In 1215, Lewon I described this court as being ‘free’ and established according to the customs of Genoa, to handle cases other than theft and murder.⁹⁵⁸ With these two chrysobulls, Lewon I not only indicated the site of the administration of justice for the

aportari in secca nostra et aliud medium vendent libere cuique absque aliquo obstaculo.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 86 §3.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. footnote 951.

⁹⁵⁵ For more discussion on this issue, cf. 3.4.2.

⁹⁵⁶ “..... et si aliquis clamor factus fuerit super aliquem Ianuensem, accusatus in curia Ianuen(sium) faciat justiciam.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 165.

⁹⁵⁷ “..... Et si Ianuenses de quocumque alio alterius nationis clamorem fecerint, accusatus in regali curia mea faciat justiciam.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 165.

⁹⁵⁸ “..... dono et concedo in tota terra mea quam ego nunc habeo vel habiturus sum liberam curiam secundum morem et consuetudinem Ianue ut nullus Ianuensis vel filius Ianuensis aut aliquis dictus Ianuensis teneatur in curia alicuius nisi in curia Ianuen(sium) super offensione aliqua nisi super excessu furti et homicidii respondere.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 169.

Genoese in 1201, but also clarified the scope of its jurisdiction in 1215. There is no such reference in the Armenian concessions to Venice in 1201.

Regarding the protection to be afforded to Venetian merchants, Lewon I promised to ‘observe and maintain every right of the Venetians as though it were my own’.⁹⁵⁹ For dispute settlement, Lewon I specifically mentioned that if a dispute was among the Venetians ‘who were not present’ then it should be addressed to the archbishop of Sis.⁹⁶⁰ Apart from disputes between the Venetians and ‘other people’ and cases resulting in death, disputes should be resolved by the Venetians (per Venetos) themselves.⁹⁶¹ The site of the administration of justice for Venetian merchants in the kingdom was not specified by Lewon either when the latter granted sites in Malmistra for a church, a storage space and a house.⁹⁶² This probably led P. Bedoukian to conclude that the Venetians did not have a consul or *baiulus* in the kingdom.⁹⁶³ For the Venetians, the *baiulus* in Acre was responsible for managing Venetian interests in the Armenian kingdom. In the case of a Venetian dying intestate, the Venetian *baiulus* in Acre was to be involved, as attested in 1245⁹⁶⁴ and 1261.⁹⁶⁵

Comparing different regulations issued by Lewon I, the Genoese were allowed to settle any dispute with a Genoese defendant while the Venetians were allowed to settle,

⁹⁵⁹ “..... Omnes ius Veneticorum tamquam meum proprium observabo et manutenebo, et a creditoribus suis hominibus meis eis iusticiam plenam exhiberi faciam.....” Sopracas, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 29 §6.

⁹⁶⁰ “..... qui si absentes fuerint, in presencia predicti venerabilis archiepiscopi, sive successorum suorum archiepiscoporum, previa ratione emendetur.....” Sopracas, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 29 §6.

⁹⁶¹ “..... si aliqua contentio vel discordia in terra mea inter Venetos emergerit, ut per Venetos, si interfuerint, emendetur..... Et si aliqua contentio vel discordia mortalis inter Venetos et quascumque gentes emergerit, et mors hominis subito irruerit, in regali curia mea per iusticie sententiam decidatur. Et si aliqua alia contentio vel discordia inter Venetos et quascumque gentes emergerit, similiter in regali curia mea per iudicii sententiam finiatur.....” Sopracas, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 29 §6.

⁹⁶² Cf. footnote 941.

⁹⁶³ P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (Danbury, CT: Paul Z. Bedoukian, 1979), 27. Bedoukian does not discuss the role the archbishop of Sis played in the concessions obtained by the Venetians in 1201.

⁹⁶⁴ “..... Et si aliquis Venetus non interfuerit, et cum ordinatione seu sine ordinatione facta mortuus fuerit, omnia bona ipsius in manibus nostris in custodia deveniant, donec habeamus litteras ducis Venetorum, vel baiuli qui in Acon de eius mandato preerit, alterius illorum sigillo sigillatas;” Sopracas, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 37 §4.

⁹⁶⁵ “..... Et si aliquis Venetus non interfuerit ibi et cum ordinatione seu sine ordinatione mortuus fuerit, omnia bona ipsius in manibus nostris et in nostra custodia deveniant, donec habeamus litteras domini ducis Veneciarum vel baiuli qui erit in Accon, que sint alterius illorum sigillo sigillate;.....” Sopracas, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 45 §4.

among themselves, only disputes between the Venetian merchants. In addition, cases concerning death and theft were not specifically mentioned in the concessions obtained by the Genoese in 1201, but only in subsequent concessions in 1215.⁹⁶⁶ The Venetians seemed to be given a narrower scope of jurisdiction when it came to dispute settlement in 1201. However, this seeming disadvantage should have been offset by the king's guarantee in the same text that the Venetian rights were to be maintained as if they were the king's own. This is notable in the context of Venetian advantage resulting from various concessions elsewhere around the Eastern Mediterranean. Wider scope of judicial authority, i.e., solving all disputes between Venetians and other Western merchants, was confirmed by the Seljuk sultan in 1220.⁹⁶⁷

Regarding dispute settlement among the Venetians, the archbishop of Sis was also mentioned in 1245⁹⁶⁸ and 1261.⁹⁶⁹ Whereas the physical absence of the Venetian merchants in a dispute among themselves is a condition for the archbishop's involvement in 1201, there was no such condition in 1245 and 1261. Even when the Venetian *baiulus* in Ayacium was attested in a report produced between 1270 and 1272 concerning agreement on various issues with Lewon II (r. 1270-1289),⁹⁷⁰ the archbishop of Sis still played a role in the dispute-settlement among the Venetians.⁹⁷¹ This is also evident in 1307⁹⁷² and 1321.⁹⁷³ This

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. footnote 958.

⁹⁶⁷ Except cases of armed assault or theft. M. E. Martin, "The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220," *The English Historical Review* 95, no. 375 (1980): 329.

⁹⁶⁸ "..... Cum vero inter Venetos emergente discordia non fuerit de Veneticis qui possit concordiam inter eos reformare, per iudicium Sisiensis archiepiscopi reformetur....." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 38 §5.

⁹⁶⁹ "..... Cum vero inter Venetos emergente discordia non fuerit de Venetis qui possint concordiam inter eos reformare, per iudicium sufficientis archiepiscopi reformetur....." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 46 §5.

⁹⁷⁰ "..... quando lo baillo serà vegnuto a Lajaço, noi comandaremo que ella vegna a Laiaçà." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 60 §5.

⁹⁷¹ "..... E se contens sera entre Veneciens e che Veneciens n'y soit a acordé les ensemble, per la raison del arçivesque da Sis s'adressent." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 60 §5.

⁹⁷² "..... Et se contens sera entre deus Veneciens, et que Veneciens ne soient a acorder les ensemble, par la rayzon de l'arvesque de Sis s'adrissent." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 74 §5.

persistent involvement of the archbishop of Sis for Venetian merchants stands in contrast to his non-involvement with the Genoese merchants. Peculiarly, there is no mention of dispute-settlement in the Armenian concessions to the Genoese in 1215 and 1288, probably because of the existing Genoese court handling lawsuits.⁹⁷⁴ Therefore, dispute-settlement was regulated in different ways by Lewon I for Genoese and Venetian merchants in his kingdom. For Genoa, he recognised the judicial function of the Genoese court in the kingdom, at least in 1215. For Venice, he provided guarantee of maintaining Venetian merchants' rights and stipulated the involvement of the archbishop of Sis for disputes among the Venetians. This archiepiscopal involvement in Venetian merchants' dispute-settlement, however, highlights a particular Venetian access to a dispute-settlement mechanism in the kingdom.

This particular access for Venetian merchants was probably due to the chancery function of this archiepiscopal position. The archbishops of Sis during the thirteenth century are not well-documented, especially when the Venetians obtained concessions from the Armenian king in 1201. Although correspondence between the archbishop of Sis and Pope Innocent III is recorded in 1201,⁹⁷⁵ not much is known about him. Alishan points out that the archbishop of Sis acted as the chancellor of the king⁹⁷⁶ with his own court and subordinates stationed in Ayacium and Tarsus.⁹⁷⁷ In addition to these two administrative roles, i.e., as archbishop of Sis and chancellor of the kingdom, he was also the abbot of three citadels in 1201.⁹⁷⁸ This secretarial role of the archbishop was also attested by the concessional texts to the Genoese⁹⁷⁹ and those to the Venetians,⁹⁸⁰ both dated 1201. The inclusion of this

⁹⁷³ “..... E se contens sera entres deus Venesiens et que Venesiens ne soyent por acorder les ensemble, par la raison de l’arcevesque de Sis se facent et s’adresent.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 92 §5.

⁹⁷⁴ Cf footnote 958.

⁹⁷⁵ Langlois, “Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l’Arménie,” 22-23.

⁹⁷⁶ Alishan, *Sissouan: Ou L’Arméno-Cilicie*, 251.

⁹⁷⁷ Langlois, “Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l’Arménie,” 10.

⁹⁷⁸ Cf. footnote 979.

⁹⁷⁹ “..... Datum per manus Iohannis, venerabilis archiepiscopi Sisensis, Trium Arcium abbatis, totius regni Armenie legati et cancellarii,” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 166.

archbishop in the concessions to Venice may be the result of the king's intention to regulate the Venetian merchant activities in the kingdom by an official for solving their disputes. It is thus logical to view the inclusion of a royal chancellor, who happened to be the archbishop of Sis, as meeting the need to adjudicate disputes between the Venetians themselves. For Venetians, access to the kingdom's church was not only limited to the archbishop of Sis, however. In a report of items agreed by Lewon II (r. 1270-1289) before 1272, the Venetians requested access to the *vicarius* of Antioch and the archbishop of Malmistra on matters of baptism, confession, communion, marriage and burial.⁹⁸¹ Prior to this document, the Venetians had already been granted a church in Malmistra in 1245⁹⁸² and another in Sis in 1261,⁹⁸³ including lodging and provision for the priests serving the churches. It is not clear, however, if these priests also worked as notaries for the Venetian merchants. In subsequent concessions, i.e., in 1272⁹⁸⁴ and 1307,⁹⁸⁵ a dedicated church is mentioned in Ayacium in both instances. Instead of being required to abide by the adjudication of a royal official, the Venetians seemed intent on asking the king to allow them access to the kingdom's ecclesiastical officials for solving disputes of their own. In the thirteenth century, there is textual evidence for local bishops' authority to solve the disputes of itinerant merchants during fairs: e.g., the bishop of Hereford in 1241, the archbishop of York in 1293 and the

⁹⁸⁰ "..... Factum est hoc privilegium et datum per manum domini Iohannis, venerabilis archiepiscopi Sisensis, illustris Armenie cancellarii," Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 30.

⁹⁸¹ "Quello prevede Venecian que starà a Laiça que el possa aver nostra aidha e 'l nostro conseio a lo vicario d'Anthioça o al arcivesquevo de Malmistra. Quello prevede porà aver commandamento de bateçar li Veneciani, confesar et comunegar, sposar, soterar....." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 54 §1. Cf. also 3.4.1.

⁹⁸² "Concedimus autem et damus in civitate Mamistei ipsis Venetis ecclesiam et domum, et locum pro dono et victualia pro sacerdote et clerico, qui servant ecclesie, in memoria predecessorum nostrorum." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 38 §6.

⁹⁸³ "Concedimus autem et damus in civitate Sisye ipsis Venetis ecclesiam, et domum, et locum pro domo et victualia pro sacerdote et clerico qui servant ecclesiam in memoria predecessorum nostrorum, et apud latiam dabimus eis locum ad fatiendum domum." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 46 §6.

⁹⁸⁴ "Et nos otroions et donons en Lajas la cité une yglise, e che il tenent prestre a servir l'iglyse en memoire de nos e de mors. Et celes maisons che leur furent donees per nostro pere, nos leur otroions." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 60 §6.

⁹⁸⁵ "Et nos otroions et donons une yglise en la cité Laias a Veneciens, et che il tegnent prestre chi sert l'eglise en remembrance de nos et de nos mors. Et le maisons che nostre pere leur avoit doné, nos leur otroions." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 76-77 §9 (version B').

abbot of Westminster in 1302, amongst many others.⁹⁸⁶ These claims to sole judicial authority, however, covered all the merchants visiting the fairs.⁹⁸⁷ Though Venetians were travelling through the Armenian kingdom as merchants, there was no mention of fairs in the Armenian concessions to the Venetians. Ecclesiastical courts may be simply an alternative forum for the Venetian merchants. Recourse to ecclesiastical officials regarding a civil contract has been documented in Genoa in 1369, when the Genoese authority imposed a fine on those who alleged a civil contract to be usurious.⁹⁸⁸ This involvement of the archbishop in dispute-settlement between Venetians indicates an institutional mechanism that the Venetians, but not others, decided to maintain for protecting their merchants' activities in Cilicia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the subsequent Armenian concessions issued in 1245 to Venice, Het'um I (r. 1226-1270) even mentioned Armenian officials appointing an arbitrator from the Venetians for disputes among Venetians.⁹⁸⁹

This non-mention of Venetian courts handling lawsuits in the Armenian concessional documents does not mean that Venetian presence in the kingdom was transient. On the contrary, there is textual evidence that there were Venetians residing in the kingdom for an extended period of time or even permanently. In a Venetian report regarding agreement of various issues with Lewon IV between 1320 and 1321, the king agreed to the Venetian request to enlarge an existing cemetery, although there is no such mention in the concessional text subsequently issued in 1321.⁹⁹⁰ This is another significant difference between a report compiled for Venice for an agreement that was issued subsequently. The difference between

⁹⁸⁶ C. Gross and H. Hall, eds. *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant*. Vol. 1 (London: B. Quaritch, 1908), xxi-xxii.

⁹⁸⁷ For examples of fairs administered by the church in the Byzantine empire, cf. footnote 1074.

⁹⁸⁸ Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, 276-277.

⁹⁸⁹ "..... nos eisdem Venetis aliquem probum et discretum virum, per quem contentio derimatur et inter eos reformetur concordia, statuemus....." Sopraca, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 37 §5.

⁹⁹⁰ "Item, petiit a nobis prefatus dominus ambaxator pro parte domini ducis et comunis Venetiarum unum masenum, quod iuxta simiterium suum erat, quod masenum intendebant ponere in augmentum sui simiterii. Nostra responsio est, quod multum placebat nobis quod haberent illud masenum et precepimus quod daretur eis." Sopraca, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 88 §13 (version B').

a report and its subsequent concessional text, demonstrated here and in 3.1.1, reflected the different textual forms of these two documents, as will be shown below in 3.3.2. Particularly for interpreting the Armenian concessions obtained by Venice, I will demonstrate the significance of textual form through which such concessions were made.

Differences on the question of dispute settlement in Armenian concessions to Genoa as opposed to those made to Venice thus seem incidental. A comparison below with earlier and similar concessions from the Crusaders and the Byzantines, however, will indicate that the Armenian concessions to Venice are different from all the others obtained by the Venetians. In contrast, those concessions obtained by Genoa from the principality of Antioch are not different from those obtained from the Armenians, regarding the establishment of a Genoese court handling lawsuits. As also will be demonstrated below, the terms court and customary practice⁹⁹¹ include meanings that do not implicate the administration of justice of a merchant community.

3.2 Approaches by the Byzantines and the Crusaders to Genoese and Venetian merchants

There have been comparative analyses of concessions from various Eastern Mediterranean rulers to the Western Mediterranean merchants,⁹⁹² but these analyses focus more on the socio-economic and political conditions across a huge area, with texts being of only marginal importance. Instead of fitting textual evidence into a large socio-political context such as Eurasia or the Eastern Mediterranean, I will identify comparable examples from two other sources of concessional texts: the principality of Antioch and the Byzantine

⁹⁹¹ ‘Consuetudo’ could mean a legal right (a legal provision granted as a privilege by a king/lord; a right to levy taxes by a lord), a power of a king/lord (judicial powers; the power to levy a customary tax), the rule of a type of law (customary law in general; a particular customary law) or a type of payment (customary duty/tax; transport duty), etc. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 259-260.

⁹⁹² For example, G. Canestrini, ed., “Documenti spettanti al commercio dei veneziani con de l’Armenia e Trebisonda, Ragusa e Negroponte (1201-1231),” *Archivio Storico Italiano* App. 29 (1853): 331-360.

empire. The significance of these examples will then be assessed by considering relevant legal traditions or socio-political conditions. The questions that these comparable examples raise are whether there was to be a site of administration of justice for a resident merchant community and the scope of its jurisdiction. I have included concessions to Genoa and Venice from the principality of Antioch and the Byzantine empire in my comparative analyses for two different reasons.

The Byzantine empire remained the main imperial power around the Eastern Mediterranean until the end of the twelfth century, when Cyprus was permanently lost to the Crusaders.⁹⁹³ Throughout my thesis, ‘Byzantine empire’ indicates the empire developed out of the eastern half of the Roman empire at the end of the fourth century, with Constantinople as its centre. While the Greek language became the dominant and then official language in the seventh century,⁹⁹⁴ the self-perception of the Byzantines as being Romans is attested in the textual sources in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Though the Byzantine empire gradually lost control over eastern and south-eastern Anatolia from the eleventh century onwards, it still controlled the sea route to the Black Sea and much of the regions around the Aegean before the Fourth Crusade at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Genoese and Venetian merchants’ activities in Constantinople and the Aegean provided impetus for a series of Byzantine concessions regarding various aspects of their activities in the empire (cf. Table 3-1.) Furthermore, the Greek language and legal tradition remained in the territories captured by the Crusaders. Two instances illustrate the retention of this Byzantine legal tradition in formerly Byzantine territories. In a dispute between the Latin archbishop of Crete and the doge of Venice in 1320, regarding the ownership of the monastery of Pala, Venice

⁹⁹³ A. P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 567-568.

⁹⁹⁴ For example, in the imperial titulature: W. E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 194.

insisted that it had inherited ‘all the rights, which the lord emperor held’.⁹⁹⁵ In 1309, Greek inhabitants in Rhodes were assured by the papacy of their properties and ecclesiastical rite under the rule of the Hospitallers.⁹⁹⁶ These instances indicate that new rulers of formerly Byzantine territories needed to handle carefully the rights of the local inhabitants, which were derived from the Byzantine legal tradition.

For comparative analysis, I will draw on examples from the Byzantine concessions to Genoa and Venice up to the end of the thirteenth century. This comparative analysis, however, is complicated by the political rupture resulting from the Fourth Crusade. When the Crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204, various Greek-speaking splinter groups appeared in Anatolia and Greece. There was thus not a Byzantine imperial approach to the Western merchants until Constantinople was captured by Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282) in 1261. Though these Greek-speaking splinter groups in Anatolia and the Balkans individually agreed to arrangements with the Genoese and Venetians as part of their strategy for survival and expansion after 1204, the political realignments in the first half of the thirteenth century prevent a consistent discussion on Byzantine concessions between 1204 and 1261. Therefore, I focus only on the concessions issued by Michael VIII to Genoa and Venice. Relevant aspects are then discussed further in detail with select examples from the Byzantine concessions before 1261.

In contrast to the continuing Byzantine legal tradition in former Byzantine territories, my inclusion of Antioch is due to the intertwined political and economic developments in Antioch and Cilicia. Such intertwined political and economic developments resulted in the

⁹⁹⁵ ‘Omnia iura, qua habebat dominus imperator’. Z. N. Tsirpanlis, “Κατάστιχο Εκκλησιών και Μοναστηρίων του Κοινού” (1248-1548): συμβολή στη μελέτη των σχέσεων Πολιτείας και Εκκλησίας στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη (Ioannina: Φιλοσοφική Σχολή Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων, 1985), 38-48, 294 (doc. 238). Cited from C. A. Maltezos, “Byzantine “consuetudines” in Venetian Crete,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 269.

⁹⁹⁶ E. Buttigieg, “The Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta – A General History of the Order of Malta,” in *The Orders of St John and Their Ties with Polish Territories*, ed. P. Deles and P. Mrozowski (Warsaw: The Royal Castle in Warsaw-Museum, 2014), 23-24.

conflicts between the two for domination in the region. S. Redford, on the basis of medieval finds at Kinet Höyük (in the Turkish Hatay province), concludes that the economic activities along the Antiochene and Cilician coast did not abide by the political boundaries between the kingdom and the principality.⁹⁹⁷ Two instances in the thirteenth century also illustrate the intertwined political developments between the two. The first instance occurred when Lewon I was involved in the succession dispute of Antioch in 1203, in which he backed his nephew, born to Lewon I's daughter and son of Bohemond III, to succeed Bohemond III. Although Lewon I secured a privilege from pope Innocent III that no one could excommunicate him or lay interdict on his lands without permission from the pope, a papal legate later convoked a council to lay interdict on the Armenian kingdom.⁹⁹⁸ This interdict was eventually removed when the Antiochene succession dispute was solved.⁹⁹⁹ The second instance was pope Gregory IX's decision in 1237 that the Armenian church should be subject to the Latin patriarch of Antioch,¹⁰⁰⁰ and this included all Armenians living in the diocese of the Latin patriarch.¹⁰⁰¹ Pope Gregory IX, however, quickly reversed his decision in 1239 and decided that the kingdom's church should not be subject to the Latin patriarch¹⁰⁰² and ruled that no preaching should be allowed without permission from the pope, the catholicos or an

⁹⁹⁷ S. Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: a preliminary report," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 38 (2001): 71; S. Redford, "Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. C. Morrison (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012), 307.

⁹⁹⁸ E. B. Krehbiel, *The Interdict: Its History and Its Operation. With Special Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216* (Washington, DC: The American Historical Association, 1909), 134-135.

⁹⁹⁹ Krehbiel, *The Interdict*, 135.

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Apamiensi et Mamistano archiepiscopis mandat quatenus Armenorum praelatum, qui «catholicos» vulgariter appellabatur inducant ut, cum tota Armenia in patriarchatu Antiocheno consisteret, patriarchae Antiocheno obedientiam, quam ei denegare dicebatur, exhibeat; quod si ipsorum monitis acquiescere forte noluerit, quicquid idem «catholicos» duceret proponendum quare ad id se assereret non teneri, suis litteris ipsi papae intiment." L. Auvray, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*. Vol. 2 (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1907), no. 4466.

¹⁰⁰¹ "Universis abbatibus et clericis, Graecis, Armenis et Georgianis, Antiochenae civitatis et diocesis, patriarchae Antiocheno obedire recusantibus, praecipit quatenus eidem patriarchae obedientiam et reverentiam debitam impendant; alioquin sententiam quam idem patriarcha rite tulerit in rebelles, ipse papa ratam habebit et faciet usque ad satisfactionem condignam observari." Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*. Vol. 2, no. 4467.

¹⁰⁰² "Praelato Armeniorum qui «catholicos» nuncupabatur, ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi in Hierusalem et universas alias ecclesias quas in Syriae partibus obtinebat, confirmat." Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*. Vol. 2, no. 4739.

Armenian prelate.¹⁰⁰³ B. Hamilton argues that both instances were caused by political developments in Antioch. The death of Bohemond III of Antioch in 1201 caused the succession dispute between Bohemond's son and Lewon I.¹⁰⁰⁴ Prince Bohemond V of Antioch was the prime mover in 1237 for the papal decision to investigate the legitimacy of the marriage between Het'um I and Zapel, Lewon I's daughter and to place the Armenian church under the Latin patriarch.¹⁰⁰⁵ Even though the first instance occurred under the Rubenides and the second occurred under the Het'umides, the former Armenian family being more pro-Latin than the latter, these instances indicate the sensitivity of Armenian kings to the Antiochene relations with the papacy.

From the perspective of Genoa and Venice, the concessions from the principality of Antioch and the Byzantine empire also offered examples of similar or contrasting practice regarding protections afforded to their respective merchants. In the case of the principality of Antioch, the intertwined economic and political developments in the principality and the adjacent Armenian kingdom presented the Western merchants with competing concessions on trade and tax from two neighbouring rulers. In the case of the Byzantine empire, the concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice marked out a developing approach to the rights of Western merchants in the course of four centuries. Therefore, I have included the concessions from the principality of Antioch as an immediate comparison, probably affected by the Armenian concessions and those from the Byzantine empire as a distant comparison.

¹⁰⁰³ "Eisdem significat se inhibere «ne quis in regno Armenie, sine mandato Apostolice Sedis, vel catholicos aut aliorum prelatorum ejusdem regni licentia speciali, quam singuli eorundem in locis sibi subjectis concedendi» obtinebant facultatem, assumat officium predicandi." Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*. Vol. 2, no. 4734.

¹⁰⁰⁴ B. Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy at the Time of the Crusades," *Eastern Churches Review* 10, no. 1-2 (1978): 74-75.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy," 79.

3.2.1 Concessions from the princes of Antioch to Genoa and Venice

3.2.1.1 Antiochene concessions to Genoa, 1127-1216

Genoa obtained the first concessional text from prince Bohemond II in 1127. Bohemond II permitted the establishment of a quarter between two rivers and a *fundicus*¹⁰⁰⁶ in Licia (Latakia in Syria), as well as one third of revenue of the port Saint Symeon (Samandağ in the Hatay province) and confirmed a third of the *Suidino* area already controlled by Genoa. For protecting the Genoese merchants in the principality, Bohemond II only promised to solve a dispute within fifteen days.¹⁰⁰⁷ There is no mention of a Genoese court handling lawsuits. In 1144, only ‘all the rights’ of Genoese were guaranteed by Raymond,¹⁰⁰⁸ without detailed explanation such as that found in 1127. This is a contrast with the concessions issued in 1169 by Bohemond III. Not only did Bohemond III repeat all the promises made by Bohemond II, but he also emphasised that justice will be done according to the customs (*usus*) and institutions (*institutio*) of the principality.¹⁰⁰⁹ In 1189, however, Bohemond III made a completely different concession to the Genoese for protecting the

¹⁰⁰⁶ In Crusader Syria, J. Riley-Smith finds four meanings for this word: a building with an open courtyard, storage space and lodging for merchants; a market; a group of markets under a single administration; the administration of markets. J. Riley-Smith, “Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants,” in *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*, by J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), XI 115-116. Despite varying spellings for this term in medieval Latin texts, I use *fundicus* in my thesis for consistency. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 457.

¹⁰⁰⁷ “..... Non auferam vobis neque aliquis meo precepto in Antiochia rugam unam que est inter duas aquas ex utraque parte vie sicut primum assignata est et funditium in Laoditia quecumque vobis consignata fuerunt, videlicet rugam unam et omnia alia, terciam partem de redditibus portus et terciam partem in Suidino sicut modo tenetis. De his itaque si quis iniuriam vobis fecerit, si michi proclamatio inde facta fuerit, iusticiam vel concordiam faciam vobis nisi impeditus rationabili necessitate fuerim..... nisi ex ratione iusticie illius que posita est et stabilita in principatu meo. Transacto vero impedimento aut per iusticiam aut per concordiam infra quindecim dies vobis satisfatiam.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 153.

¹⁰⁰⁸ “....., concedo, dono et confirmo Genuensibus consulibus et sociis et successoribus eorum omnia iura Ianuensium que debent habere in omni principatu meo.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 155.

¹⁰⁰⁹ “..... Hec autem sunt illa: in Antiochia ruiga una cum ecclesia Sancti Iohannis que est inter duas aquas et via est ex utraque parte; fundicum in Laoditia et unam rugam et omnia alia que ipsi habent ibi; terciam partem de redditibus portus et terciam partem in Suidino..... De hiis autem et de aliis si quis iniuriam eis fecerit ita quidem quod clamor mihi inde sit facta, infra quadraginta dies vel concordiam vel iusticiam eis faciam nisi fuero impeditus rationabili necessitate. Transacto igitur impedimento meo, infra quindecim dies aut per concordiam aut per iusticiam secundum usus et institutiones curie mee forifacta et damna illorum emendare faciam.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 158.

Genoese merchants. He allowed the establishment of a Genoese court (*curia*) at Antioch, *Gabulum* and Licia. There were two limitations on such a court. First, cases of treason, murder and theft were to be handled by the principality's court. Second, the prince's Genoese citizens were outside its jurisdiction.¹⁰¹⁰ Bohemond III further reassured the Genoese of the latter's freedom throughout the principality in 1190.¹⁰¹¹ In 1199, Bohemond III promised the same concessions and guarantee as he did in 1189.¹⁰¹² The limitation of the Genoese court's jurisdiction over Genoese residing in the region was expanded in 1205 by Bohemond IV to include those Genoese citizens of the county of Tripoli, Cyprus, the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch. As this Genoese court was allowed by Bohemond IV to operate in Tripoli,¹⁰¹³ those Genoese in Tripoli excluded from its jurisdiction must have been long-term residents of Tripoli as well as other enumerated places, not just merchants travelling seasonally from Genoa. J. Praver thinks that such an exclusion was based on the acquisition of land by the excluded Genoese, who were subsequently viewed as subjects of the prince and ineligible for the Antiochene concessions issued to Genoa.¹⁰¹⁴ This distinction between Genoese merchants resident in the principality and other Genoese from elsewhere is

¹⁰¹⁰ “....., dono et in perpetuam hereditatem concedo omnibus consulibus et Ianuensibus Ianue in Antiochia curiam et apud Laoditiam ac Gabulum curiam et libertatem, exceptis tamen prodicione, homicidio et furto, de quo aliquis attinctus fuerit vel comprobatus et exceptis meis burgensibus Ianuensibus de Antiochia et Laoditia et Gabulo quos in eorum comunione recipi non permitto.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 161.

¹⁰¹¹ “..... dono et concedo consulatui Ianuensium et toti terre Ianuensis comunitati(s) hanc libertatem pro totam terram meam in Antiochia et Laoditia, Gabulo et in alia terra, si eam per Dei voluntatem conquisiero,” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 163.

¹⁰¹² “..... dono et in perpetuam hereditatem concedo omnibus consulibus et ianuensibus. ianue in antiochia curiam. et apud laoditiam curiam et libertatem exceptis tantum prodicione homicidio et furto. de quo aliquis attinctus fuerit nel comprobatus. et exceptis meis burgensibus ianuensibus de antiochia et laoditia. et gabulo quos in eorum comunione recipi non permitto.....” Baudi di Vesme et al., *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*. Vol. 1, 432-433.

¹⁰¹³ “..... dono et et concedo civitati Ianue et omnibus Ianuensibus et Ianuensium filiis, exceptis burgensibus Ianuensibus regni Ierusalem vel comitatus Tripolis sive Cypri vel principatus Antiochie, liberam libertatem in Tripoli, Item dono et concedo eis in Tripoli liberam curiam in omnibus modis, excepto homicidio sine raptu et sine seditione erga dominum et sine vi que fiat homini de persona sua vel de rebus suis vel de pecunia sua.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 167.

¹⁰¹⁴ J. Praver, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 244.

also seen in the case of the Armenian concessions to Venice above.¹⁰¹⁵ In the kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, such a distinction is related to the legal status of an individual (whether a privileged merchant), the place of that individual's residence (whether within the quarter of privileged merchants) or the location of the immoveable properties (whether within the quarter of privileged merchants) owned by the individual.¹⁰¹⁶ The application of Antiochene concessions is understandably further complicated as the Genoese were later granted a permanent quarter in Antioch and a district in port Saint Symeon in 1216.¹⁰¹⁷ The interests and priorities of Genoese settlers in the principality and Genoese merchants travelling to Antioch might also have been different, similar to the cases found in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁰¹⁸

The last extant concessional text to Genoa from the principality of Antioch was issued in 1216 by Rupinus, prince of Antioch and nephew of the Armenian king Lewon I. In it, Rupinus did not specifically exclude those resident Genoese in the principality and allowed a Genoese 'free' court in Antioch, a permanent quarter and a third of the area of port Saint Symeon.¹⁰¹⁹ *Gabulum* and Licia were not mentioned, probably because they were not under the control of Rupinus. The absence of Genoese from the county of Tripoli, Cyprus and the kingdom of Jerusalem in the concessions issued by Rupinus may be due to the antagonistic relations between the Armenians and the Crusaders.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. footnote 943.

¹⁰¹⁶ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 243.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cf. footnote 1019.

¹⁰¹⁸ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 241-242.

¹⁰¹⁹ "....., dono et concedo comuni Ianuen(sium) curiam liberam in civitate Antiochia et in omni principatu meo ita quod aliquis Ianuensis vel quicumque appellatus fuerit Ianuensis de commisso quod fecerit vel forfaitura nisi de furto et homicidio tantum non debeat respondere nec rationem facere alicui nisi in curia Ianuensium et coram vicecomite qui tunc temporis in civitate Antiochie de voluntate comuni Ianuen(sium) fuerit constitutus..... Ad hec confirmo eisdem ut libere et absque calumnia habeant et teneant in perpetuum vicum Sancti Iohannis de Platea et terciam partem portus Sancti Symeonis nec non omnia illa que in principatu Antiochie ex acquisitione terre usque modo habuerunt, de quibus eos inveni saisitos et tenentes....." Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 171.

¹⁰²⁰ For the succession dispute involving Rupinus and Lewon I from the Armenian kingdom in the principality of Antioch and the subsequent interdict placed by a papal legate on the Armenian kingdom, cf. footnote 998.

3.2.1.2 Antiochene concessions to Venice, 1140-1183

Concessional texts from the principality of Antioch before 1140 are no longer extant, but are mentioned in 1153.¹⁰²¹ In 1140, prince Raymond granted to the Venetians a *fundicus* and a garden and houses next to it.¹⁰²² Raymond mentioned Venetian law and jurisdiction in cases of forfeiture.¹⁰²³ Since there is no mention of dispute between Venetian and non-Venetian merchants or of a Venetian court, this promise by Raymond was probably intended for cases of disputes between Venetians in the principality. Prince Raynald in 1153 permitted the establishment of a Venetian court (*curia*) in the *fundicus* in Antioch to handle lawsuits, according to Venetian law and statute, without any exception regarding types of cases or types of people involved.¹⁰²⁴ This is a dramatic expansion of Venetian jurisdiction over lawsuits in the principality. The establishment of a commercial court in this instance is also earlier than that asserted by E. Kadens asserts in her discussion on medieval European merchants' rights.¹⁰²⁵ Bohemond III in 1167 repeated the same promise to the Venetians.¹⁰²⁶ In 1183, however, Bohemond III only mentioned the physical aspect of his predecessors'

¹⁰²¹ Cf. footnotes 907, 908 and 909.

¹⁰²² "..... Preterea concedo eis fundicium et gardinum et domos, juxta fundicium positas, libere et quiete habendas et possidendas, sicut hodie tenent," Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 102-103.

¹⁰²³ "..... Et si in terra mea forisfactum fecerint, unde ad justitiam venerint, lege et iudicio Veneticorum judicentur." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 102.

¹⁰²⁴ "..... Preterea concedimus ipsis Veneticis tenere curiam suam sancti Marci in funditio suo in Antiochia, et facere iudicia sua libere et quiete secundum legem et statuta eorum, ipsis eisdem iudicantibus de quacumque querela, a quibuscumque in causam prouocabuntur; nec alicui nostrorum licebit perturbare aut inquietare ipsos iudicantes aut iudicia eorum; nec alibi per totam nostram terram, nisi in curia sancti Marci sua respondere cogentur....." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 134.

¹⁰²⁵ "The creation of commercial courts appears to have been a development of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth centuries." E. Kadens, "Order within Law, Variety within Custom: the Character of the Medieval Merchant Law," *Chicago Journal of International Law* 5 (2004-2005): 41.

¹⁰²⁶ "..... Super hec autem omnia concedo eisdem tenere curiam sancti (Marci) suam in funditio suo in Antiochia, et facere iudicia sua libere et quiete secundum legem et statuta eorum, ipsis iudicantibus de quacumque querella, in quamcumque causam prouocabuntur; nec alicui licebit umquam perturbare aut inquietare ipsos iudicantes siue iudicia eorum; nec alibi per totam terram meam, nisi in curia sua sancti Marci in funditio suo in Antiochia respondere cogentur....." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 149.

grant concerning the *fundicus*, but did not specifically confirm the jurisdiction of a Venetian court or if the latter was allowed to exist.¹⁰²⁷

3.2.1.3 Protecting Genoese and Venetian merchants in the principality of Antioch

These two series of Antiochene concessions to Genoa and Venice illustrate the correlation between an actual institution in the form of a court and protecting the rights of the Western merchants in the principality. Among the princes of Antioch, Raynald in 1153 first allowed the establishment of a Venetian court to handle all the cases involving Venetians, specifying the Venetian law and statute as the source of law for these cases. Genoa obtained such a permission only from Bohemond III in 1189, but he placed some limitations on the jurisdiction of the Genoese court, unlike the unrestricted jurisdiction of the Venetian court. Judging by the scope of the jurisdiction of their respective courts, Venetians enjoyed more protection than the Genoese in the principality. The Genoese were, however, more widespread geographically and more integrated into the society of the principality. Not only were they granted a quarter in Antioch, but also a third of the area at *Suidino* as early as 1127. The Genoese were also allowed by Bohemond III in 1189 to set up a court at three places in the principality. In contrast, the Venetian court was allowed by Raynald in 1153 to be set up in Antioch only. The presence of a Genoese court at two coastal locations, *Gabulum* and *Licia*, indicates that they were active at these places on the Syrian coast. The number of Genoese and the length of their stay in the region were such that, in 1205, Bohemond IV limited the scope of the Antiochene Genoese courts' jurisdiction, to exclude Genoese from various areas controlled by the Crusaders in addition to those from the principality itself. This exclusion of certain Genoese from the privilege and rights enjoyed by other Genoese signifies

¹⁰²⁷ “..... Preterea fundam suam, quam antecessores mei Veneticis dederunt et concesserunt, ego Boamundus Veneticis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis dono, concedo et confirmo.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 176.

the flexible boundary of a community.¹⁰²⁸ Such changing membership in a community in the principality of Antioch echoes the observations of L. Farber. Her examination of the city of London and its craft guilds from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows that the concept of community was not descriptive of realities, but ‘a wholly external concern’.¹⁰²⁹ For Bohemond III and Bohemond IV, being Genoese was only a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for a merchant originally from Genoa to enjoy the privilege granted to the Genoese. Who belonged to the Genoese community to benefit from the Antiochene concessions was thus decided by wholly external concerns of the Antiochene princes.

Another feature of these Antiochene concessions to Genoa and Venice is the absence of custom as a source of law for the Genoese and Venetian courts handling lawsuits in the principality. This is in contrast to the Armenian concessions to Genoa in 1215 by Lewon I.¹⁰³⁰ Though *consuetudo* was mentioned in multiple Antiochene concessions, it only meant customs dues, not customary practice. For example, in 1140, Raymond mentioned that customs dues (*consuetudines*) ‘which Venetians used to pay during the time of Tancred’ should be paid;¹⁰³¹ in 1153, Raynald absolved all the customs dues for Venetians transiting or staying in the principality, as did his predecessors;¹⁰³² in 1167, Bohemond III of Antioch reduced the customs dues by half for the Venetians.¹⁰³³ Such a restricted meaning of *consuetudo* as customs dues is not applicable to all concessions from the Crusader kingdoms in the same period, however. In the concessions obtained by Venice from Warmundus,

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. footnotes 1010 and 1012.

¹⁰²⁹ L. Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing: Value, Consent, and Community* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 150-179.

¹⁰³⁰ Cf. footnote 958.

¹⁰³¹ “..... Consuetudines, sicut in tempore domini Tancredi sunt dare consueti, michi tribuant.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 103.

¹⁰³² “....., condonamus et absque ulla inquietatione imperpetuum dimittimus Veneticis per Antiochenos fines transeuntibus et in Antiochiam manentibus omnes consuetudines illas, quas Antiocheni princeps Boamundus, primus et secundus, Tancredus, videlicet et Raimundus, illis condonauerunt, et auctoritate priuilegij sui confirmauerunt.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 133.

¹⁰³³ “....., condono, dimitto, dono et concedo inclito et strenuo Venetie Duci omni que ejusdem civitatis senatui atque comuni, nec non et omnibus Veneticis medietatem omnium consuetudinum, quas mercatores Venetici cure solebant in Antiochia et in omni terra mea.” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 148.

patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1123, “Venetians should have over Venetian *burgenses* living in the district and homes of Venetians the same law and taxation as the king has over his own people”.¹⁰³⁴ This clause was repeated by king Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1125.¹⁰³⁵ Such settlements by Western merchants, however, were not first discovered in the Crusader kingdoms, as colonies were founded by Western merchants before the First Crusade.¹⁰³⁶ The concessions presumably ensured that the Venetians resort to their own law and customs when solving their disputes. The same concessions issued by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1123 also require that cases with non-Venetian defendants be solved in the royal court (*curia regis*), while cases between the Venetians or those cases with Venetian defendants should be solved in the Venetian court (*Venetorum curia*).¹⁰³⁷ This designation of jurisdiction also appears in the concessions issued in 1125 by Baldwin II of Jerusalem.¹⁰³⁸

Consuetudo thus means both customs dues and customary practice.¹⁰³⁹ Only the former meaning was recognised in the Antiochene concessions to Genoa and Venice, while the latter meaning was explicitly recognised in above select cases from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The legal implication of this recognition can be illustrated by two other instances in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. First, T’oros, an Armenian baron, offered three thousand

¹⁰³⁴ “..... Preter ea super cuiusque gentis burgenses in uico et domibus Venetorum habitantes eandem iusticiam et consuetudines, quas rex super suos, Venetici habeant.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 88. I only found J. Prætor’s translation of this particular sentence after I have translated the paragraph. I had translated *consuetudo* as *customary practice*, but have changed it to *taxation* here in light of Prætor’s interpretation. Prætor, *Crusader Institutions*, 222-223.

¹⁰³⁵ “..... Preterea super burgenses cuiusque gentis, [si] sint in uicis eorum habitantes, et super domos eorum easdem iusticias et consuetudines, quas rex super suos habet, Venetici habeant.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 92.

¹⁰³⁶ R. S. Lopez, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,” in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 2. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan, E. Miller and C. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 347.

¹⁰³⁷ “..... Si uero aliquod placitum uel alicuius negocij litigationem Veneticus erga Veneticum habuerit, in curia Veneticorum diffiniatur; uel si aliquis uersus Veneticum querellam aut litigationem se habere crediderit, in eadem Veneticorum curia determinetur. Verum si Veneticus super quemlibet alium hominem, quam Veneticum, clamorem fecerit, in curia regis emendetur.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 87.

¹⁰³⁸ “..... Si uero aliquod placitum uel litigationem Veneticus erga Veneticum habuerit, in curia Veneticorum determinetur; uel etiam, si aliquis hominum uersus Veneticum querellam aut litigationem habuerit, in eadem curia Veneticorum diffiniatur. Verum si Veneticus super quemlibet alium hominem quam Veneticum clamorem fecerit, in curia regis emendetur.....” Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*. Vol. 1, 92.

¹⁰³⁹ Cf. footnote 991.

Armenians to the king of Jerusalem between 1164 and 1166, to re-populate areas devastated by wars. This proposal, however, was rejected by the clergy in the kingdom on the ground that the Armenian custom (as us et as coustumes) would prevent the collection of tithes due to the church in the kingdom.¹⁰⁴⁰ Second, it is the question of the source of law for the administration of justice in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In a treatise on this issue written in the 1250s or 1260s, Philippe de Navarre described customs for the administration of justice being discussed by noblemen and rendered in writing, but these written customs were lost in Saladin's attack on Jerusalem in 1187.¹⁰⁴¹ P. W. Edbury disputes the authenticity of the written customs described by Philippe de Navarre, calling the latter's account 'a piece of legal fiction',¹⁰⁴² though he does not doubt the significance of customs for the administration of justice in the kingdom of Jerusalem. As for the motive of Philippe de Navarre, Edbury argues that the prevalence of the French customs in the kingdom had compelled Philippe de Navarre to invent a tradition of customs previously preserved in writing.¹⁰⁴³ Even if the description by Philippe de Navarre is fictional, the significance of customs as a source of law for administering justice is still highlighted in this instance.

In the case of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, there appeared conflicts between customs of settlers from different places. Such conflicts between different customs were inevitable, with mass movement of people travelling to and residing in regions around the Eastern Mediterranean. In a settler society, there are thus two responses to the question regarding legality of customs, brought in by the Western merchants. In Antiochene concessions, there were detailed regulations of the jurisdictional scope without mentioning

¹⁰⁴⁰ L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris: Mme. Ve. Jules Renouard, 1871), 28-30. For the manuscript tradition of this text, cf. P. Edbury, "Ernoul, *Eracles* and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191-1232," in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter*, ed. S. Rogge and M. Grünbart (Münster: Waxmann, 2015), 29-51.

¹⁰⁴¹ Philippe de Navarre, "Livre de Philippe de Navarre," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Lois*. Vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841), 521-523.

¹⁰⁴² P. W. Edbury, "Law and custom in the Latin East: *les lettres du seigneur*," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10, no. 1-2 (1995): 73.

¹⁰⁴³ Edbury, "Law and custom in the Latin East," 77-78.

customs. In concessions from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to Venice, the Venetian customs as a source of law were recognised. As a contrast to settler societies such as the Crusader kingdoms, I will identify instances of administration of justice in the Byzantine empire in 3.2.2 and discuss their significance and relevance for the examples from the Crusader kingdoms above.

3.2.2 Concessions from the Byzantine emperors to Genoa and Venice

3.2.2.1 Byzantine concessions from Michael VIII to Genoa and Venice

Among the concessions in Table 3-1 from Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282) to Genoa and Venice, there is no mention of a court (*curia*), understood as a lawcourt, for resident merchants. There are, in contrast, instances of customary practice (*consuetudo*; ἡ συνήθεια), albeit in very specific contexts. In 1265, the Venetians were permitted to conduct baptism and mass in their own churches, ‘as it is their custom’.¹⁰⁴⁴ A similar stipulation was included in 1268¹⁰⁴⁵ and 1277.¹⁰⁴⁶ In the extant parallel Greek and Latin texts in 1265 and 1277, the corresponding words for *consuetudo* are ἡ συνήθεια¹⁰⁴⁷ and τὸ ἔθος,¹⁰⁴⁸ respectively. These two Greek words were used by Michael VIII interchangeably to mean (Venetian)

¹⁰⁴⁴ “Et ecclesie sue, quas habebunt in locis, in quibus morari debebunt, sint exempte; et eas habeant cum fortitudine imperii mei absque aliquo clamore. Et quod in ipsis ipsi facere possint baptisma et misas, ut eorum est consuetudo.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 38 §9; “Ἴνα αἱ ἐκκλησίαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μέλλουσιν ἔχειν ἐν οἷς μέλλουσι κατοικεῖν τόποις, ὧσιν ιδιόρρυθμοι μετὰ δυνάμεως τῆς βασιλείας μου ἄνευ ἀνακρίσεως, καὶ ἵνα ποιῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς βαπτίσματα καὶ ἱεροτελεστίας, καθὼς ἔχουσι συνήθειαν.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 39-40 §9.

¹⁰⁴⁵ A ratification document by the Venetian doge: “Item concessit nobis idem imperator ecclesias et sacerdotes et baptismum secundum consuetudinem nostram in Constantinopoli et per alia loca imperii sui: que ecclesie, sacerdotes et baptismum sint exempta a potentia sui imperii, sine revocatione, quousque predictum tempus treuge finitum fuerit.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 60 §6.

¹⁰⁴⁶ “Item concedit eis imperium nostrum habere sacerdotes, ecclesias et baptismum secundum consuetudinem eorum in Constantinopoli et per alia loca imperii nostri; que ecclesie, sacerdotes et baptismum sint exempta a potentia nostri imperii et revocatione nostra, quousque tempus treuge finitum fuerit.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 90-91 §7; “Ἴνα παραχωρήσῃ ἡ βασιλεία μου ἔχειν ἱερεῖς, ἐκκλησίας καὶ βάπτισμα κατὰ τὸ ἔθος αὐτῶν ἐν τε τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, ἥτις ἐκκλησία καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ βάπτισμα ἵνα ὧσιν ἐκβεβλημένα τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνακρίσεως αὐτῆς, ἔστ’ ἂν τελειωθῇ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς τοιαύτης τρέβας.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 91 §7.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf. footnote 1044.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. footnote 1046.

customary practice in Constantinople regarding religious rite. But there is no mention of a Venetian *curia* in Michael VIII's concessions. Mentions of *ἡ συνήθεια* and *τὸ ἔθος* do not carry apparent implications for the administration of justice, either. In another instance in the same concessions, *ἡ συνήθεια* of Venetians was cited as a justification for requiring the Byzantine merchants to pay customs dues while in Venice in 1265.¹⁰⁴⁹ This referred to the customary practice of requiring payment from visiting Byzantine merchants, though, as a similar stipulation was included in 1277 describing such a payment as ordered by the commune of Venice.¹⁰⁵⁰ These two examples indicate that customary practice may be used loosely to describe a practice from the past or merely an administrative order, but does not carry any necessary implication of a legal right. Even when the *baiulus* was recognised as the head of the Venetian community in Constantinople in 1265, there was no mention of customs as a source of law for handling lawsuits.¹⁰⁵¹ There are two instances, however, of expanded jurisdiction of the Venetian *baiulus* in Constantinople in 1277. The first is a promise by Michael VIII that *guasmuli* (οἱ γασμοῦλοι), descendants born to a Byzantine and a Latin,¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁹ “Et quod mercatores imperii mei, qui ibunt Veneicas pro faciendo mercationes, solvant et solvere debeant comerclum secundum usum Veneciarum, qui possint emere quod sibi videbitur, absque aliquo impedimento.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 31 §2; “Ἴνα οἱ πραγματευταὶ τῆς χώρας βασιλείας μου, οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν, ποιῶσι τὰς δοκούσας αὐτοῖς πραγματείας καὶ διδῶσι τὸ κομμέρκιον κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τῆς Βενετίας, καὶ ἐξωνῶνται τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς ἀνεμποδίστως.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 31 §2.

¹⁰⁵⁰ “Item, si aliqui mercatores imperii nostri et terrarum nostrarum voluerint venire Venecias ad mercandum, possint in Venecia vendere merces, quascumque voluerint, sine aliquo impedimento, solvendo inde comercla per ducem et comune Veneciarum ordinata.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 101-102 §21; “Ἴνα, ἐὰν πραγματευταὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χωρῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν θελήσωσιν εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν εἰσελθεῖν μετὰ πραγματειῶν, πωλήσωσι ταύτας ἀκωλύτως, καταβάλλοντες τὸ κομμέρκιον τὸ παρ’ αὐτῶν ταχθὲν καὶ τοῦ κουμουνίου τῆς Βενετίας.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 104 §21.

¹⁰⁵¹ “Quod commune Veneciarum ponat rectorem supra gentem suam, qui vocetur baiulus. Et possit mittere in omnem partem, in qua habebunt mansionem, qui iudicat et regat suam gentem. Sed Greci, qui habebunt agere cum aliquo Veneto et vellint iudicari per baiulum, quod etiam iudicentur rationem per ipsum.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 36 §7; “Ἴνα θῇσιν τὸ κουμούνιον τῆς Βενετίας κεφαλὴν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὀνομάζηται μπαῖλος, καὶ ἀποστέλλη κατὰ τόπους, ἐνθα μέλλουσιν ἔχειν ἀναπαύσεις, κριτάς, ὅπως διεξάγωσι τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσοι ἔχουσιν ὑπόθεσιν τινα μετὰ Βενετῶν, καὶ θελήσωσιν ἵνα κριθῶσι παρὰ τοῦ μπαῖλου, ἵνα κρίνωνται καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον.” Pozza & Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 38 §7.

¹⁰⁵² A. P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 823.

and their descendants would be accorded the same status as the Venetians.¹⁰⁵³ The second is Michael VIII's recognition of the Venetian *baiulus*' jurisdiction over murder cases involving only Venetians both inside and outside Constantinople.¹⁰⁵⁴

For Genoa, concessions from Michael VIII were different from those obtained by Venice. A few months before Michael VIII's capture of Constantinople from the Crusaders in 1261, the then-Nicaean emperor¹⁰⁵⁵ permitted the Genoese to have a court with jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases involving a Genoese.¹⁰⁵⁶ Such an expansive jurisdiction promised to Genoa, however, was not repeated a few years later. In 1278, Michael VIII allowed the Genoese to engage only in trading activities, but did not mention the existence of a court and its jurisdiction over cases in Constantinople.¹⁰⁵⁷ The existence of Genoese courts in Constantinople was already attested earlier in a testimony of imperial officials handing over the granted Constantinopolitan quarter to the Genoese emissary under Isaac II Angelos

¹⁰⁵³ “Item Veneti guasmuli et heredes ipsorum, quos habebat et tenebat potestas Venetorum, quando tenebant Constantinoplim, sint liberi et franki, sicut Veneti.” Pozza & Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 90 §5; “Ἐτι οἱ βενέτικοι γασμοῦλοι καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτῶν, οὓς εἶχε καὶ ἐκράτει ὁ ποτεστάτος τῶν Βενετῶν, ὅτε κατεῖχον τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἵνα ὥσιν ἐλεύθεροι καὶ φράγγοι ὡς Βενέτικοι.” Pozza & Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 91 §5.

¹⁰⁵⁴ “..... Et si acciderit, quod nolit Deus, aliquem Grecum, dictus Venetus debeat iudicari per imperium nostrum. Et si Venetus occiderit aliquem Venetum tam in Constantinopoli, quam extra, debeat per baiulum iudicari sive rectorem, qui fuerit pro Venetis in partibus illis.” Pozza & Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 97-98 §16; “..... Ἴνα, ἐὰν συμβῇ, ὅπερ οὐ μὴ δόξῃ θεός, τινὰ Βενέτικον φονεῦσαί τινα Ῥωμαῖον, ὁ τοιοῦτος Βενέτικος κρίνηται παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν· ἐὰν δὲ Βενέτικος ἄλλον Βενέτικον φονεύσῃ ἐντὸς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἢ ἐκτὸς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, κρίνηται οὗτος παρὰ τοῦ παῖδούλου ἢ τοῦ κριτοῦ ἢ τοῦ δικαίῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 100 §16.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Nicaea was a city across the Sea of Marmara from Constantinople, where some Byzantine aristocrats from Constantinople ruled when Constantinople was occupied by the Latins between 1204 and 1261. Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 2, 1463-1464.

¹⁰⁵⁶ “..... et in predictis terris et insulis habere debent et possint Ianuenses et in qualibet earum ad eorum velle consules, curiam et iurisdictionem meram et mixtam in civilibus et criminalibus omnibus super omnibus Ianuensibus et de districtu Ianue qui dicuntur Ianuenses, et si questio erit utrum aliquis esset Ianuensis vel de districtu vel appellatus, credatur et stetur assercioni consulum Ianuensium qui tunc temporis fuerint. Promisit autem et convenit quod non recipiet aliquem Ianuensem nec de districtu in vassallum hominem seu fidelem quin semper sit sub curia et iurisdictione consulum Ianuensium et sub ipsis respondere teneatur tamquam civis et habitator Ianue.....” Dellacasa, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/4, 274.

¹⁰⁵⁷ “....., imperium nostrum..... promittit universos Ianuenses et de districtu Ianue et eos omnes qui Ianuenses appellabuntur tenere, tractare, manutenere ac salvere in personis et rebus in imperio nostro toto secundum formam convencionis supradicte.....” Madia, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/5, 128.

in 1192, although there is no mention of its function in the testimony.¹⁰⁵⁸ A Genoese quarter in Constantinople, in turn, was already mentioned by Manuel I Komnenos in 1155.¹⁰⁵⁹

Unlike the principality of Antioch, the Byzantine empire was not a settler society in which sources of law for handling lawsuits could be subject to contention among those in power. Above, Michael VIII's concessions to Genoa and Venice indicate developing approaches to protecting rights of Western merchants and the suitable forum to achieve such a protection. Genoese and Venetian customs as a source of law, however, were not mentioned even when the Byzantine emperor expanded the Venetian *baiulus*' jurisdiction in Constantinople. The significance of such an absence in Byzantine concessions can only be determined by comparing other contexts in which customs served as a source of law with the instances just discussed in Byzantine concessions to Genoa and Venice. Below, I will review Byzantine canonists' discussion on customs as a source of law and other comparable examples of imperial concessions to cities in the empire. These comparisons will show that the Byzantine concessions to Genoa and Venice remain distinct from examples from the past Byzantine legal tradition.

3.2.2.2 Customary practice in the Byzantine legal tradition before Michael VIII

The concept of customary practice and its validity in legal practice have been discussed by both the Byzantine canonists and modern historians. The difficulty in formulating a uniform framework of understanding has been acknowledged by R. Morris:

¹⁰⁵⁸ “..... quam prius Genuite habebant scalam, quod prius habebant embolum, aliam maritimam scalam monasterii Sancti Pantaleonis Manuel et que utrinque sunt veteri eorum embolo coniuncta habitacula monasterii Apologotheton et monasterii Patricii Theodosii et domum Calamanni, videlicet Votoniati, cum habitaculis, duabus curiis, puteis, cisterna, balneo, et duabus ecclesiis infra ambitum murorum eius existentibus cum pensionalibus que sunt extra ambitum eiusdem domus supra cisternam Antifoniti existentibus.....” Imperiale di Sant’Angelo, *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*. Vol. 3, 63.

¹⁰⁵⁹ “..... Archiepiscopo vero vestro dabit annuatim perparos LX et pallium unum et dabit vobis in Constantinopolim embolum, scalas cum commercio et omni iure in eis pertinentibus sicuti Pisani habent et hec in partibus quibus ipsi Pisani et Venetici habent.....” Rovere, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/1, 263.

“much more work needs to be done on the issue of ‘custom’ in Byzantium”.¹⁰⁶⁰ A. Kazhdan thinks that custom (ἡ συνήθεια) had been viewed by the Byzantines as parallel to law (ὁ νόμος) and points to efforts of incorporating custom into law, citing the example of Leo VI (r. 870-912) accepting or rejecting customs in his legislation.¹⁰⁶¹ In a legal dispute between the monastery of Kolobos and inhabitants of Siderokausia in the Athos region (in modern Greece) in the tenth century, reference to custom was not particularly made, probably because written documents were more effective in winning a lawsuit.¹⁰⁶² There was thus an inherent tension between law and customary practice. Byzantine jurists in the eleventh and twelfth centuries provided abundant comments as to when customary practice took on the effects of law. Though these comments touched on canon [ecclesiastical] laws, they still had a bearing on the economic activities of clerics.¹⁰⁶³ In some other instances, the canon laws were applied to civil cases of laymen. For example, ecclesiastical courts applied the prohibitions on lending at interest in civil cases between laymen in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶⁴ Such recourse to an ecclesiastical court to avoid interest payment is not only found in the Byzantine empire.¹⁰⁶⁵ Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180) issued a decree in 1151¹⁰⁶⁶ prohibiting clerics from taking part in secular activities.¹⁰⁶⁷ According to A. E. Laiou, the decree reflected the emperor’s attempt to regulate extensive business activities through the Eparch, from whose jurisdiction the clerics had been exempted.¹⁰⁶⁸ She also argues that these regulations signalled efforts to regulate the socio-economic role of clerics, on the one hand and the merchants and

¹⁰⁶⁰ R. Morris, “Communal Legal Activity in the Athos Region in the Tenth Century,” in *Law, Custom, and Justice in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2008 Byzantine Colloquium*, ed. A. Rio (London: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 2011), 70, footnote 26.

¹⁰⁶¹ Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 1, 565-566.

¹⁰⁶² Morris, “Communal Legal Activity in the Athos Region in the Tenth Century,” 70.

¹⁰⁶³ A. E. Laiou, “God and Mammon: credit, trade, profit, and the canonists,” in *Byzantium in the 12th century: Canon Law, State and Society*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens: Etaireia Vyzantinōn kai Metavyzantinōn Meletōn, 1991), 261-300.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Laiou, “God and Mammon,” 267.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For a similar example regarding lending at interest found in Genoa, cf. footnote 988.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Laiou, “God and Mammon,” 291.

¹⁰⁶⁷ I. Zepos and P. Zepos, eds., *Jus Graecoromanum*. Vol. 1 (Aalen: Scientia, 1962), 416-417.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Laiou, “God and Mammon,” 291.

the artisans, on the other. The distinction between these two social groups was hierarchical, not economic, because such a distinction regulated the social sphere according to predetermined roles in society.¹⁰⁶⁹ Alexios Aristenos, a Byzantine jurist in the twelfth century, specifically included ‘laymen who spent their time in the marketplace’¹⁰⁷⁰ when commenting on Canon 10 of the Council of Serdica (342/343). The canon required due diligence when appointing ‘any rich man or man of eloquence from the forum’ as clergy.¹⁰⁷¹ These examples indicate that the economic activities of the clerics and the merchants were at least occasionally the subject of canonists’ discussions and the target of Manuel I’s imperial legislation. Thus, there are examples before the thirteenth century from Byzantine legal texts indicating potential influence of canonical discussions on the regulation of merchants in the empire. The influence of canonical discussions on civil lawsuits can also be seen in the case of Demetrios Chomatenos (d. c. 1236), the archbishop of Ohrid in the Balkans:¹⁰⁷² he handled lawsuits of the local population as well as those lawsuits referred to him by the civilian courts at the time.¹⁰⁷³ Other examples include the ecclesiastical institutions managing fairs attended both by the Byzantine and Western merchants and handling disputes involving non-Byzantine merchants,¹⁰⁷⁴ and Byzantines resorting to the patriarchal court of Constantinople for solving disputes during the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁶⁹ Laiou, “God and Mammon,” 295-296.

¹⁰⁷⁰ G. A. Rhallis and M. Potlis, eds., *Syntagma*. Vol. 3 (Athens: Chartophylakos, 1853), 258. Cited from: Laiou, “God and Mammon,” 294.

¹⁰⁷¹ D. Cummings, trans., *The Rudder of the Orthodox Catholic Church, the Compilation of the Holy Canons, by Saints Nicodemus and Agapius* (Southend-on-Sea: W. H. Houldershaw, 1983), 591-592.

¹⁰⁷² For a brief description of the establishment of the archbishopric and the relationship between this archbishopric and the patriarchate of Constantinople in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries: G. Prinzing, “A Quasi Patriarch in the State of Epiros: The Autocephalous Archbishop of “Boulgaria” (Ohrid) Demetrios Chomatenos,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 41 (2004): 167-170, 173-180.

¹⁰⁷³ Prinzing, “A Quasi Patriarch in the State of Epiros,” 176.

¹⁰⁷⁴ K.-P. Matschke, “Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Vol. 2, ed. A. E. Laiou et al. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 781.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Matschke, “Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money,” 792.

On the legal force of customary practice, Byzantine jurists, notably Theodore Balsamon (c. 1130/1140-1195), seem reserved. D. Simon, citing numerous comments from Theodore Balsamon on the subject, concludes that there are four features of *ἡ συνήθεια* for the jurist: it was valid only when it did not contradict a statute; its validity needed to be affirmed in a court; a statute took precedence over a custom; and a custom needed to be proved to be still in use.¹⁰⁷⁶ However, in commenting on Canon 102 of the Quinisext Council (691-692), Theodore Balsamon hinted at a more flexible position. This canon elaborated on the principle of facilitating the remission of sins and repentance, so that both the requirements of strictness (*ἡ ἀκρίβεια*) and custom (*ἡ συνήθεια*) should be resorted to.¹⁰⁷⁷ Such a stipulation provided the bishops with discretion regarding the treatment of sinners.¹⁰⁷⁸ Theodore Balsamon interpreted this canon as resorting to observance of custom which the sinner would not resist.¹⁰⁷⁹ The editors of *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca* have interpreted this comment as a custom being sufficient to annul a canon.¹⁰⁸⁰ This more expansive interpretation by the editors contrasts the view of Theodore Balsamon with that of Lucas de Penna (c. 1325-c. 1390), a fourteenth-century jurist in Italy, that a valid custom should not adversely affect ‘the foundations of the established order which constitutes the social and political organism’.¹⁰⁸¹ Lucas de Penna, unlike his contemporaries, pointed out that

¹⁰⁷⁶ D. Simon, “Balsamon zum Gewohnheitsrecht,” in *Scholia: Studia ad Criticam Interpretationemque Textuum Graecorum et ad Historiam Iuris Graeco-Romani Pertinentia Viro Doctissimo D. Holwerda Oblata*, ed. W. J. Aerts, J. H. A. Lokin, S. L. Radt and N. van der Wal (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1985), 126-129.

¹⁰⁷⁷ “..... Ἀμφοτέρω τοίνυν εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς χρὴ, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὰ τῆς συνηθείας, ἔπεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ καταδεξαμένων τὴν ἀκρότητα τῷ παραδοθέντι τύπῳ καθὼς ὁ ἱερός ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδάσκει Βασίλειος.” J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*. Vol. 137 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1865), 868-869.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cummings, *The Rudder of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, 410.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “..... Συναγαγὼν τοίνυν, εἰπὲ ὡς χρὴ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν κανονικῶν ἐπιτιμίων, καὶ τὰ τῆς συμπαθεστέρας συνηθείας καὶ πῇ μὲν κανονικῶς θεραπεύειν τὰ ἀρρωστήματα, ὅταν ἐτοίμως καταδέχωνται οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ ἐπιτίμια πῇ δὲ διὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ συμπαθεστέρων ἱατρειῶν, ὅταν σκληρότεροι ὦσιν εἰς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἱατρευόμενοι. Εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ συνήθη οὐκ ἂν τις ἀντισταίη.....” Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*. Vol. 137, 869-872.

¹⁰⁸⁰ In *Index Analyticus*: “Consuetudo sufficit canonem abrogare.” J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*. Vol. 138 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1865), 1394.

¹⁰⁸¹ W. Ullmann’s rendering of ‘canonicis institutis’ from Lucas de Penna. W. Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law as Represented by Lucas de Penna: A Study in Fourteenth-century Legal Scholarship* (London: Methuen, 1946), 65-66.

the expressed approval and willed participation of the ruled were instrumental to the binding force of a custom.¹⁰⁸² This notion was built upon the view of his contemporaries that a custom was tantamount to a contract, and thus the binding force of a custom was based on the tacit consent of the people.¹⁰⁸³ For Theodore Balsamon, though, ἡ συνήθεια was not categorical, but situational, i.e., it should take precedence if dictated by the circumstances. In this case, the method of more sympathetic custom (τὰ τῆς συμπαθεστέρας συνηθείας), i.e., sympathy, was a decisive element as to whether a custom could take precedence over a canon. Commenting on Canon 24 from the Council of Ankyra (314), Theodore Balsamon thought that those resorting to the customs of the gentiles should be punished, as stipulated in Canon 61 from the Quinisext Council.¹⁰⁸⁴ In both cases, Theodore Balsamon cited canons of St. Basil (c. 329-379) as justifications for when a custom was at least as equally valid as canons and when it should not be tolerated. For the case of ἡ συνήθεια being equally valid, Canon 3 of St. Basil explicitly required understanding both of the strict and the customary when meting out punishment.¹⁰⁸⁵ According to Canon 12 of the First Ecumenical Council (325), a bishop could devise some more benevolent (φιλανθρωπότερος) approach for those who have demonstrated genuine conversion.¹⁰⁸⁶ The stipulation here indicates that a bishop is allowed (ἐξεῖναι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ) to do so under the circumstances specified here. This stipulation

¹⁰⁸² Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law as Represented by Lucas de Penna*, 64-65.

¹⁰⁸³ Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law as Represented by Lucas de Penna*, 63-64.

¹⁰⁸⁴ “.....ἄλλοι δὲ συνηθείας ἐθνικαῖς προσέχοντες περὶ εὐτυχημάτων καὶ δυστυχημάτων ἐρωτήσῃ; ἐποιοῦντο ἀπὸ ἀστρολόγων καὶ ἐτέρων δαιμωνιώδη μεταχειριζομένων ἔργα ὥρισαν οἱ Πατέρες ἐπὶ πενταετίαν τούτους ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι, ἥγουν ἐπὶ μὲν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑποπίπτειν, ἐν δὲ δυσὶν εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πιστῶν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀξιούσθαι τῶν θείων ἀγιασμάτων. Ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τὸν ξα΄ κανόνα τῆς ἐν τῷ Τρούλλῳ συνόδου, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γραφέντα, καὶ τὸν πγ΄ κανόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἐπὶ ἐξαετίαν ἐπιτιμῶντα τούτους.....” Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*. Vol. 137, 1192.

¹⁰⁸⁵ “..... Ἀμφοτέρω τὸινυν εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὰ τῆς συνηθείας, ἔπεσθαι δὲ, ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ καταδεξαμένων τὴν ἀκρότητα, τῷ παραδοθέντι τύπῳ.” Ἀγάπιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος and Νικόδημος ὁ Ἀγιορείτης, eds., *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηός, τῆς Μίας Ἀγίας, Καθολικῆς καὶ Αποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας: ἡτοι ἅπαντες οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ θεῖοι κανόνες* (Athens: ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΒΛΑΣΤΟΥ Χ. ΒΑΡΒΑΡΡΗΓΟΥ, 1886), 478.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “..... Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ φόβῳ, καὶ δάκρυσιν, καὶ ὑπομονῇ, καὶ ἀγαθοεργίαις τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν, ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ σχήματι ἐπιδείκνυνται, οὗτοι πληρώσαντες τὸν χρόνον τὸν ὁρισμένον τῆς ἀκροάσεως, εἰκότως τῶν εὐχῶν κοινωνήσουσι, μετὰ τοῦ ἐξεῖναι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν βουλευσασθαι.....” Ἀγάπιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος and Νικόδημος ὁ Ἀγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον*, 120.

indicates discretion and economy, with which a bishop could waive the normal requirements in meting out punishments or for verifying one's conversion. For the case of *ἡ συνήθεια* being subject to scrutiny, Canon 83 of St. Basil pointed out that resorting to the custom of the gentiles should be punished.¹⁰⁸⁷

For Theodore Balsamon, then, there were varying contexts in which *ἡ συνήθεια* could be enforced. Yet, the implication for the customary practice of the Venetians in Michael VIII's concessions does not seem apparent. The contexts for Venetian customary practice were limited to their religious ceremonies and Venetian administrative ordinance. This brief review of the Byzantine legal tradition indicates the lack of a uniform approach to the question of customary practice vis-à-vis Byzantine imperial legislation. There is one aspect, however, that could explain these different opinions varying from case to case, even from even the same jurist. Affirmation or recognition, by a court is the crucial element in determining the legal force of *ἡ συνήθεια*. The question then is not what Venetian customary practice constituted in Michael VIII's concessions, as it seems limited to two specific contexts: religious rite in Constantinople and the customs dues in Venice. This change of focus thus takes my discussion to the point where I started: the definition of customary practice for Michael VIII.

Often the contents of *ἡ συνήθεια* are not clearly spelled out, as even the above examples from the canonists' discussions show. Rather, I argue, *ἡ συνήθεια* was evoked when explaining some variant of imperial law or canon law, as seen in the case of facilitating remission of sins and repentance or when giving recognition to a practice in question, as seen in Michael VIII's concessions that recognised the validity of a practice. The need for customary practice to be confirmed by an authority, be it imperial or ecclesiastical, is the

¹⁰⁸⁷ “Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι, καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξακολουθοῦντες, ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινες εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέτωσαν τῆς ἐξαετίας, ἐνιαυτὸν προσκλαύσαντες, καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροασάμενοι, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑποπίπτοντες, καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν συστάντες ἐν τοῖς πιστοῖς, οὕτω δεχθήσονται.” Ἀγάπιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος and Νικόδημος ὁ Ἀγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον*, 510.

unifying element in canonical comments and imperial legislation. A stipulation from the *Basilika*, a legal compilation issued during the reign of Leo VI (r. 886-912), concerns this process of confirmation: a customary practice is to be confirmed in a court.¹⁰⁸⁸ This stipulation was translated from the *Digest*, whose compilation was promulgated by Justinian I in 533.¹⁰⁸⁹ Demetrios Chomatenos, archbishop of Ohrid, also cited this requirement in 1225.¹⁰⁹⁰ He was advising Theodore Komnenos Doukas (c. 1180/85-1253), ruler of Thessalonica, on a dispute over inheritance.¹⁰⁹¹ The question is less about which customary practice superseded which law or why, but more about the process by which a customary practice was confirmed.

The confirmation or rejection of a customary practice by the Byzantine emperor Leo VI in his imperial legislation thus indicates a process of exercising authority in defining applicable law for the emperor's subjects. Leo VI needed to decide whether a customary practice was valid or not, as it seemed to conflict with law. Thus, a customary practice could be legally significant enough that an emperor needed to decide on its validity in relation to imperial legislation. Legal reasoning can be ascribed to this acceptance or rejection of a customary practice. This was a reasoning process in which the contents of customary practice were not as important as the question of whether it applied to the circumstances and potentially applicable laws or canons in question. There is textual evidence of such a rejection of a Venetian customary practice.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “Τότε κεχρήμεθα τῇ συνηθείᾳ τινὸς πόλεως ἢ ἐπαρχίας, ὅτε ἀμφισβητηθεῖσα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἐβεβαιώθη.” H. J. Scheltema and N. van der Wal, eds., *Basilicorum Libri LX. Ser. A Textus*. Vol. 1 (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1955), 19 (B II, 1, 43).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 1, 623.

¹⁰⁹⁰ “..... Ἐγὼ δὲ σαφῶς ἔξοιδα νομικαῖς παρατηρήσεσιν ἐπόμενος, ὡς ἀχρησία διὰ μακρᾶς συνηθείας ἦτοι ἀγράφου νόμου οἶδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, συνηθείας δὲ οὐ τῆς ἀπλῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀμφισβητηθείσης ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ βεβαιωθείσης, καθὰ δὴ τὸ μγ' κεφ. τοῦ α' τίτλ. τοῦ <β'> βιβλ. φησί.....” G. Prinzing, ed., *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2002), 104.

¹⁰⁹¹ Prinzing, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, 93.

In the treaty of Nymphaion, shortly before Michael VIII captured Constantinople, the emperor stipulated lasting peace with the Genoese.¹⁰⁹² The anonymous *Pseudo-Kodinos*, compiling the hierarchy and functions of imperial offices between 1347 and 1368, cited this instance to explain that ‘the honour to be rendered to the emperor by them [the Genoese] was also laid down’.¹⁰⁹³ For the Venetians, Michael VIII ‘did not specify their customs as he had for the Genoese’ since the emperor ‘wanted to make war on them’.¹⁰⁹⁴ While Michael VIII’s intention to make war on the Venetians is explicit in the text, the significance of this intention is not apparent for issues beyond the process of receiving the Venetian *baiulus*, such as the jurisdiction of the Venetian *baiulus* or the sources of law in cases of disputes involving Venetians in Constantinople. On the contrary, the detailed imperial reception of the Genoese representative in the city may be a sign that the emperor considered the Genoese, but not the Venetians, as imperial subjects.¹⁰⁹⁵ Thus, this extra-textual context, i.e., the intention of Michael VIII regarding the Venetians, does not explain the significance of customary practice for Venetian administration of justice in Constantinople under Michael VIII.

Even when the legality of a customary practice is based on its affirmation by the emperors, the above examples show the varying meanings of Venetian customary practice found in the Byzantine concessions. If there was such a process of recognition, there is no evidence for it in these same concessional texts. Apart from canonists’ discussions, instances of Byzantine emperors granting concessions to Byzantine cities are another comparative

¹⁰⁹² “..... Im primis quod a presenti die in antea habebit imperium nostrum et successores eius amorem et pacem perpetuam cum comuni Ianue et districtualibus eius et quod habebit guerram de cetero cum comuni Veneciarum et cum Veneticis omnibus, inimicis nostris, et quod non faciet pacem cum ipso comuni, treugam neque concordium sine consciencia et voluntate comunis Ianue et dictum comune Ianue non faciet pacem, treugam neque concordium com ipso comuni Veneciarum sine consciencia et voluntate nostri imperii.....” Dellacasa, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/4, 273.

¹⁰⁹³ R. Macrides et al., ed., *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 185.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, 185-187.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, 187, footnote 530.

example for considering Byzantine concessions to Genoa and Venice, which might be illuminating.

3.2.2.3 Byzantine concessions to cities before the thirteenth century

There are instances of privileges, though not numerous, granted by Byzantine emperors to urban residents prior to 1204, suggesting a persistent practice of grants to certain urban populations in the empire.¹⁰⁹⁶ Remarking on such examples between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, J.-C. Cheynet does not think these rights and privileges obtained by towns were at the expense of the imperial authority.¹⁰⁹⁷ Inhabitants of a place being viewed as a collective can be found in an earlier legal text, regulating various aspects of a village, preserved from the end of the tenth century onwards. The community of a village could complain against any individual benefiting from activities on common land, e.g., constructing a mill, to make sure that all could benefit from such activities.¹⁰⁹⁸ While this attested the collective standing of the villagers in taking action against an individual, this concerns the access to undivided land.¹⁰⁹⁹ Though there is no mention of right in this instance, this collectivity¹¹⁰⁰ indicates a state of being in a collectivity with the same externally defined interests. This example of collectivity, however, only concerns a specified circumstance, i.e., an individual potentially infringing on every other villager's access to common land. For a

¹⁰⁹⁶ J.-C. Cheynet, "Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle)," in *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten zwischen Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit: Topographie, Recht, Religion*, ed. E. Gruber et al. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 164.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Cheynet, "Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle)," 149.

¹⁰⁹⁸ "ἐάν τις οἰκῶν ἐν χωρίῳ διαγνώσῃ τόπον κοινὸν ὄντα ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐργαστήριον μύλου καὶ τοῦτον προκατάσχει, ἔπειτα δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τελείωσιν ἐὰν ἢ τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης καταβοῶσι τῷ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου κυρίῳ ὥς ἴδιον τὸν κοινὸν τόπον προκατασχόντι, πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλομένην αὐτῷ διδότησαν καταβολὴν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου ἑξοδὸν καὶ ἔστωσαν κοινωνοὶ τῷ προεργασαμένῳ." W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 30 (1910): 107-108.

¹⁰⁹⁹ C. M. Brand, "Two Byzantine treatises on taxation," *Traditio* 25 (1969): 40.

¹¹⁰⁰ P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance: les sources et les problèmes," *Revue Historique* 219, no. 1 (1958): 59-60.

more wide-ranging recognised collectivity, e.g., the power to dispense justice, examples of townspeople provide a better illustration.

Concessions from the Byzantine emperors to urban residents were made out of necessity, as many of these places were on the geographical periphery of the Byzantine empire. The leaders of Cherson, Naples and Venice in the first half of the ninth century were all selected by the local population and enjoyed the honorific, *hypatos*, recognised by the Byzantines.¹¹⁰¹ These concessions were usually fiscal in nature, i.e., regarding taxes,¹¹⁰² but there is an instance in which the concessions included the administration of justice by the local community prior to 1204. Ragusa obtained from Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185-1195, 1203-1204) the power to dispense justice,¹¹⁰³ in a chrysobull whose text is not extant.¹¹⁰⁴ There are two other instances in which a city's inhabitants were granted special status concerning their rights in the empire, albeit after 1261. The first is Ioannina. In a chrysobull in 1319 from Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282-1328), the Ioanniniotai were granted the right to select judges amongst themselves to judge cases along with an appointed Byzantine governor, except cases of the ecclesiastical court.¹¹⁰⁵ J. Shea observes that judicial autonomy was an important aspect of charters obtained by towns in the West from the rulers in Western Europe.¹¹⁰⁶ While the case of Ioannina indicates the locals' preoccupation with the limits on imperial power in the city, the case of Monemvasia indicates a different set of rights in Byzantine concessions affecting an urban population in the fourteenth century. Not only the Monemvasiots at Monemvasia, but also those at other places, notably in Constantinople, were

¹¹⁰¹ Cheynet, "Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle)," 152.

¹¹⁰² Cheynet, "Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle)," 151 and 161.

¹¹⁰³ B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Mouton, 1961), 21-22.

¹¹⁰⁴ Cheynet, "Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle)," 154.

¹¹⁰⁵ "..... ἔτι ἵνα διορίσῃται ἡ βασιλεία μου καὶ ἐκλεγῶσιν ἄνθρωποι καλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐποίκων τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως καὶ ταχθῶσιν ὡς κριταὶ καὶ κρίνωσι καὶ ἐξιτάξωσι τὰς παρεμπιρτούσας ἐν αὐτῇ ὑποθέσεις μετὰ τοῦ εὐρισκομένου εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν, πλὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων μόνων, αἵτινες ἀρμόζουσι λαμβάνειν τὴν διευλύτωση ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἐκείσε ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας....." F. Miklosich and I. Müller, eds., *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana Collecta*. Vol 5 (Vienna: C. Gerold, 1887), 81.

¹¹⁰⁶ J. Shea, "The Late Byzantine City: Social, Economic and Institutional Profile" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 146-147.

granted a status separate from other residents in Constantinople. Their lawsuits were also to be referred to a designated imperial official, rather than handled by civil and ecclesiastical courts before appealing to the imperial officials.¹¹⁰⁷ Outside Constantinople, the Monemvasiots were engaged in trade in the Crimea as early as around 1290.¹¹⁰⁸

It is perhaps no coincidence that these three examples of Byzantine cities obtaining different levels of judicial authority were in constant contact with the West: there were similar local municipal institutions in Ioannina to those in northern Italy;¹¹⁰⁹ Monemvasia was on the route of Western maritime traffic into the Aegean and its merchants were active in the Byzantine economy; Ragusa was on the Adriatic and in an intermediary position for trade between the Balkans and the West.¹¹¹⁰ Examples of Genoa and Venice and their power to dispense justice within the empire prior to the thirteenth century can be understood as a question of autonomy for the two merchant communities in Constantinople.¹¹¹¹ I argue, however, that this concept of autonomy is an inadequate understanding of the legal status and rights of the Genoese and Venetian merchants in the empire. Because the Byzantine concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice differ on the question of the administration of justice for their respective communities, the issue is the range of rights they enjoyed and the extent of their power to solve disputes without recourse to the imperial authority. While Cheynet does not think there were ‘Byzantine communes’ as an urban institution in the empire,¹¹¹² I argue that Genoa and Venice should not be the measuring standard for the nature and extent of the Byzantine concessions to cities in the empire. It is thus not a question of

¹¹⁰⁷ Shea, “The Late Byzantine City,” 82-83.

¹¹⁰⁸ Matschke, “Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money,” 790.

¹¹⁰⁹ Shea, “The Late Byzantine City,” 149.

¹¹¹⁰ ‘Dubrovnik’. Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 1, 665.

¹¹¹¹ For example, Cheynet, “Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle),” 161.

¹¹¹² With the exception of Thessaloniki: Cheynet, “Les droits concédés par les empereurs aux populations urbaines (Xe-XIVe siècle),” 162-163.

Genoa, Pisa and Venice¹¹¹³ in comparison with all other Western merchants' cities.¹¹¹⁴ This is especially the case for legal structures of governance as seen above at various towns in the empire. Considering the varying arrangements in fiscal policy, methods of governance and in some cases explicit regulation of local power to dispense justice, the Byzantine empire instead consisted of a mosaic of negotiated orders with different stakeholders both in Constantinople and in the provinces. Within this mosaic of negotiated orders in the empire, the Genoese and Venetians featured prominently for their favourable status and tax reduction or exemption in the empire. There is one feature, though, that distinguishes the Byzantine concessions to Venice from those to the cities in the empire.

The Venetian jurisdiction over murder cases outside Constantinople was recognised by Michael VIII in 1265, although only for cases outside the city involving exclusively Venetians.¹¹¹⁵ As murder cases were in principle not judged by the Western merchants themselves, this recognition indicates limits of the geographical reach of the imperial administration. These limits, however, were not explicitly recognised by Michael VIII as was the case by Theodore I Laskaris (r. 1205-1221), a Nicaean¹¹¹⁶ emperor. The Venetians were promised by this Nicaean emperor, who was vying to capture Constantinople against other competitors, that the 'empire' should not raise taxes from the part under Venetian

¹¹¹³ D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 24 (1994): 349-369. However, D. Jacoby discovers that the disparities between Byzantine concessions to Genoa, Pisa and Venice were 'far wider than generally assumed'.

¹¹¹⁴ Using Genoa and Venice as the measuring standard of privileges granted by the Byzantine emperors also led to the classification of other merchants' cities as 'the minor Western nations'. D. Jacoby, "The Minor Western Nations in Constantinople: Trade and Shipping from the Early Twelfth Century to 1261," in *Galenotatē: time ste Chrysa Maltezu*, ed. G. K. Barzeliote and K. G. Tsiknakes (Athens: Museo Mpenake, 2013), 319-332.

¹¹¹⁵ "..... Et si accideret, quod homicidium perpetraretur, vel quod Venetus Grecum occideret, quod ipse sententiatur ex parte mei imperii; et per similem modum, si Grecus interficeret Venetum. Et si Venetus alium Venetum occideret, occidendo eum extra Constantinopolim, iudicetur per baiulum. Et si in Constantinopoli homicidium fieret de Veneto ad Venetum, quod ipsi etiam ex parte mei imperii iudicentur." Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 40 §13; "..... Ἐὰν δὲ συμβῇ γενέσθαι φόνον, εἰ μὲν Βενέτικος φονεύσει Ῥωμαῖον, ἵνα κρινῆται οὗτος παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας μου, ὁμοίως καὶ Ῥωμαῖος, εἴαν φονεύσῃ Βενέτικον. Εἰ δὲ Βενέτικος φονεύσῃ Βενέτικον, εἰ μὲν ἔξω τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως φονεύσῃ τοῦτον, ἵνα κρινῆται παρὰ τοῦ μπαίλου· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει γένηται φόνος ἀπὸ Βενέτικου εἰς Βενέτικον, ἵνα κρινῆται καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας μου." Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 1265-1285*, 42 §13.

¹¹¹⁶ Cf. footnote 1055.

‘domination’.¹¹¹⁷ This word in Theodore I’s concessions, which are preserved in Latin, marks the first such usage in concessions to Venice from a Byzantine emperor. For D. Penna, the absence of this term, i.e., *dominium*, in the Byzantine concessions indicates a probable lack of full ownership of the quarters, i.e., the ability to dispose of these immoveable properties by alienation, in Constantinople obtained by Genoa and Venice before 1204.¹¹¹⁸

To conclude, Venetians not only enjoyed advantageous access to a designated imperial official, e.g., in 992,¹¹¹⁹ expediting dispute resolution involving Venetian merchants, but were also attested as resorting to the Venetian legate in Constantinople for solving disputes involving Byzantine subjects, in 1198.¹¹²⁰ Cases being mentioned in the chrysobull in 1198 are cases in which the Greeks brought cases against the Venetians. Penna believes that the Byzantine chrysobull in 1198 marked the first occasion when a Venetian *legatus* was cited as solving disputes between the Byzantines and the Venetians in a Byzantine imperial chrysobull, making him a *de facto* forerunner of the *baiulus*.¹¹²¹ Judging by these two features in the Byzantine concessions, the Venetian merchants were in a better position than the Genoese on the question of the administration of justice before 1204.¹¹²² There are examples of Venetian legates solving disputes between Venetians before 1198. In 1150, a Venetian

¹¹¹⁷ “..... Neque solidarios debet tollere Imperium meum a parte tue dominationis, nisi et hoc fuerit de voluntate tue dominationis.” G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig: Mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 2 (Vienna: Aus der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856), 207.

¹¹¹⁸ D. Penna, *The Byzantine Imperial Acts to Venice, Pisa and Genoa, 10th-12th Centuries: A Comparative Legal Study* (The Hague: Eleven International Publishing, 2012), 208.

¹¹¹⁹ “Insuper et hoc iubemus, ut per solum logothetam, qui tempore illo erit, de dromo, ista navigia de istis Veneticis et ipsi Venetici scrutentur et pensentur et iudicentur, secundum quod ab antiquo fuit consuetudo; et quibus iudicium forsitan inter illos aut cum aliis crescetur, scrutare et iudicare pro ipso solo logotheta et non pro alio iudice quaecumque unquam.” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 23-24 §2.

¹¹²⁰ “..... quia ex non scripto usque et nunc causis inductis ab aliquo Grecorum contra aliquem Veneticum, a legato Venetie per tempora in magna urbe existente iudicatis et solutis,” Pozza and Ravegnani, *I Trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, 132 §16.

¹¹²¹ D. Penna, “Venetian Judges and their Jurisdiction in Constantinople in the 12th Century. Some observations based on information drawn from the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos to Venice in 1198,” in *Subseciva Groningana: Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law*. VIII, ed. J. H. A. Lokin, B. H. Stolte and N. van der Wal (Groningen: Chimaira, 2009), 136-137.

¹¹²² Penna, *The Byzantine Imperial Acts to Venice, Pisa and Genoa*, 231-240 and 279.

legatus, Sebastiano Ziani, was asked to dissolve a contract.¹¹²³ In another case, the legates were adjudicating a dispute with a judge chosen by the two parties in 1184.¹¹²⁴ The original stipulation in the 992 Byzantine chrysobull regarding the *logothetes tou dromou* (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου)¹¹²⁵ being the sole imperial official responsible for adjudicating cases underlines the start of an institutional development of this principle in Constantinople by the time of the 1198 Byzantine chrysobull. The Genoese did obtain advantage in administering justice in its resident communities in the Byzantine empire later in 1261 from Michael VIII, possessing jurisdiction for all cases involving a Genoese,¹¹²⁶ though it is not clear if this promise was implemented after Michael VIII captured Constantinople a few months later.

Thus, court (*curia*), i.e., a physical venue and custom (*consuetudo* in Latin and ἡ συνήθεια and τὸ ἔθος in Greek), i.e., a source of law, are two features that provide a basis for comparing all these concessions from the Armenian kingdom, the Byzantine empire and the principality of Antioch, to Genoa and Venice. They by no means, however, reveal the full significance of Lewon I's recognition of Genoese customs protecting Genoese merchants in the kingdom. In these examples from different texts, the same terms, i.e., court and customs, have been shown to refer to different things. Only in the case of the principality of Antioch were the sources of law for the Venetian administration of justice as well as the limits on the Genoese courts' jurisdiction specified in the concessions.¹¹²⁷ As also shown above, there are different types of texts related to concessions from these rulers to Genoa and Venice, which have distinct forms and different contents from the concessional texts listed in Table 3-1.¹¹²⁸

¹¹²³ R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, eds., *Documenti del Commercio Veneziano: Nei Secoli XI-XIII*. Vol. 1 (Rome: Regio Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1940), 96-98.

¹¹²⁴ A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca, eds., *Nuovi Documenti del Commercio Veneto dei Secoli XI - XIII* (Venice: , 1953), no. 33.

¹¹²⁵ An imperial official whose responsibility included supervising foreign affairs. Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Vol. 2, 1247-1248.

¹¹²⁶ Cf. footnote 1056.

¹¹²⁷ Cf. examples found in footnotes 1010 and 1024.

¹¹²⁸ For example, footnotes 952 (Venetian report from the Armenian kingdom to Venice), 981 (Venetian report from the Armenian kingdom to Venice), 1045 (ratification of an agreement by a Venetian doge), 1058

Below, I will review the method of relying on key concepts, i.e., court and customs in Armenian concessions, to identify comparable examples in similar concessions from the Byzantine empire and the principality of Antioch to Genoa and Venice. I will then evaluate the significance of different contexts contained in these texts, in 3.3.1. Recognising the limitations of such an approach, I argue, will lead to the necessity of considering the textual form of three preparatory documents related to these concessional texts obtained by Venice from the Armenian kings, as will be shown in 3.3.2. And it is these other texts that will reveal more clearly a range of rights protected by the Armenian kings for the Venetian merchants. To my knowledge, similar preparatory documents related to Armeno-Genoese relations are yet to be discovered. I therefore limit my discussion in 3.4 to Armeno-Venetian negotiations.

3.3 Analysing the significance of concepts in a text: a review of approaches

The above discussions have highlighted a particular difficulty with analysing concessional texts. All the examples in the Armenian, Byzantine and Crusader concessions to Genoa and Venice were selected based on the mention of court and customary practice in the Latin texts. In the case of the Byzantine chrysobulls from Michael VIII, there are parallel Greek texts that provide another source of political and legal contexts. These different political and legal contexts in the Byzantine empire provided more examples of ways in which these two concepts appeared. These examples, however, did not clarify the significance of such terms in various concessions from the Armenians, Byzantines and Crusaders. For those examples from the Armenian and Crusader concessions, the impact of recognising and regulating Genoese and Venetian court and customary practice seems obscure and highly dependent on the particular socio-political and economic contexts

(testimony of Byzantine officials) and 1251 (a Venetian report from the Armenian kingdom detailing violation of Venetian merchants' rights).

occasioning each concessional text. My selected examples in 3.1 and 3.2 do not always suggest the jurisdictional character of customary practice, i.e., marking a boundary within which other imperial or local laws were not applicable and the meaning of the term as rights enjoyed by a lord or a commune.¹¹²⁹ Instead, the examples cited above only include instances in which a Genoese and Venetian customary practice was recognised on specified matters. In other words, the range of meanings of this term does not reveal the significance of such regulations on the part of the Armenians, Byzantines and Crusaders regarding trading and economic activities. The examples examined above are arguably isolated instances of the term's use, for which the only links are the two evoked concepts.

To allow meaningful interpretation of these provisions in the concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice, a different approach is needed. I now make a case for this different approach in discerning clues of Armenian accommodation of the rights of Western merchants. This approach is based on the theories of intellectual historians. Such discussions regarding intellectual history are relevant because my endeavour in 3.1 and 3.2 mirrors some approaches found in such discussions. By reviewing these discussions, I will develop another approach to the differences found between Armenian concessions to Venice because of the availability of different, but related, textual evidence for these concessions.

3.3.1 Limitations of focusing on a concept in different texts

My initial analyses produced three main findings. First, the Venetian customary practice was not recognised by the Armenian kings in cases of dispute settlement among merchants, different from the case of the Genoese in the same kingdom. Second, the correlation between customary practice and the existence of a court is attested for issues of

¹¹²⁹ E. Conte, "Consuetudine, Coutume, Gewohnheit and Ius Commune. An Introduction," *Rechtsgeschichte-Legal History* 24 (2016): 239.

dispute-settlement and the administration of justice within a mercantile community in the principality of Antioch. Third, the Byzantines did not recognise the Venetian customary practice, either before the Fourth Crusade or during the reign of Michael VIII in the thirteenth century, concerning dispute-settlement among merchants. But there was an instance in which the Genoese merchants were given complete jurisdiction over all cases involving a Genoese party to a dispute in 1261.¹¹³⁰

For the first finding, the Armenian concessions to Genoa in the same period are a contrast to those obtained by the Venetians. Both court and customary practice were mentioned in the Armenian concessions to Genoa, concerning dispute-settlement and the administration of justice within the merchant community. For the second finding, concessions from the Crusaders to Venice indicate that these aspects of dispute-settlement and the administration of justice were fully recognised, contrary to the case found in the Armenian concessions to Venice. In the course of pursuing these two findings, I examined the range of meanings of these two terms in earlier concessions to Genoa and Venice from the principality of Antioch and the kingdom of Jerusalem in 3.2.1. These similar examples indicated that these two terms, court and customary practice, accompanied the regulation of the administration of justice. And the comparison of concessions from the Armenians and the Crusaders to Genoa and Venice indicates that Venice took on different approaches to the administration of justice in its different overseas communities. In the process of comparing concessions from the Crusaders, I treated the two terms as concepts containing core meanings that did not change in different political contexts. My characterisation of these two terms as containing core meanings, however, was contradicted by the examples from the Byzantine concessions to Venice that led to my third finding. For my third finding, the contexts in which the Venetian customary practice was mentioned did not concern dispute-settlement

¹¹³⁰ Cf. footnote 1056.

and administration of justice within the Venetian community in the Byzantine empire. These three findings indicate that the administration of justice in the Armenian kingdom, the Byzantine empire and the Crusader kingdoms did not depend solely on the recognition of court and customary practice by the local rulers. This is a significant conclusion as our question concerns the rights of the Western merchants in host societies with different legal environments, against which customary practice could be an important, but not the only, way to protect Western merchants' rights.

Further examination of the Byzantine concessions, however, has led me to two additional conclusions. First, these Byzantine and Crusader concessions were selected based on the inclusion of two terms, i.e., court and customary practice. While ranges of meaning could be laid out for these two terms in different texts, there was no way to discover the significance of their absence altogether in the Armenian concessions to Venice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Second, the examples from the chrysobulls of Michael VIII not only indicate the variable meanings of these two terms, both in Latin and Greek, but also the varying socio-political contexts in which these two terms could be understood. Therefore, the reliance, for interpretation, on the meanings of a term is only viable if the said term appears in a text. This is not the case with Armenian concessions to Venice regarding Venetian court and customary practice. In addition, these socio-political contexts, in the Armenian, Byzantine and Crusader concessions, were so different that the only similarities among these concessional texts were these two terms themselves. From their contexts, the significance of these two terms is far from clear for understanding the ways in which these Eastern Mediterranean rulers regulated conflicting rights of the Western merchants within their respective dominions. These difficulties of ascertaining the meanings of a concept and comparing different socio-political contexts in which a concept is found cannot be solved unless the relationships between a concept, the text and extra-textual contexts are first

clarified. The concessional texts from the Byzantines and Crusaders to Venice indicate the divergent meanings of these two terms. The rest of the contents in these texts aided in identifying the meanings of these two terms, but they at the same time incorporate very divergent socio-political contexts into my analyses.

Below, I will review approaches by historians of intellectual history regarding concepts found in texts attributable to known authorship, and I will develop a different approach to answering my initial research question: how did the Armenian kingdom accommodate the rights of the Western merchants?

3.3.2 Concept, text and extra-textual context

Q. Skinner lists two approaches adopted by historians of political ideas when analysing a text: examining the extra-textual contexts as sources of meanings or viewing the text as possessing autonomy for providing meanings.¹¹³¹ Highlighting the inadequacy of these two approaches, Skinner points to the problematic nature of concept, as the source of this inadequacy. Treating the text as possessing the complete autonomy of providing meanings is tantamount to assuming that the said text concerns ‘fundamental concepts’ that are found in the form of consistent vocabulary across different texts.¹¹³² Such an approach to analysing a text leads to the danger of mythologies of doctrine¹¹³³ and coherence.¹¹³⁴ On the one hand, ‘identifying a doctrine developed over time’ based on incidental remarks found in texts can lead an analyst to ‘discover’ a doctrine by an author, even when there is no textual evidence attesting the author’s intention to do so. On the other hand, Skinner points to the inevitable results when historians aim to articulate a coherent view of an author regarding a topic in a text. Contradictions in the same or other texts by the same author will be dismissed or

¹¹³¹ Q. Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 3.

¹¹³² Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding,” 5.

¹¹³³ Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding,” 7-16.

¹¹³⁴ Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding,” 16-22.

subsumed into a higher and abstract interpretation, thus falling prey to the danger of assumed coherence.¹¹³⁵ For identifying a doctrine on the part of an author and, in the course of doing so, explaining any seeming inconsistency in the texts of the said author, the impetus is ‘concept’, which prescribes particular questions to be answered when a historian peruses a text.¹¹³⁶

For E. J. Palti,¹¹³⁷ the question over the relationships between concepts, texts and extra-contextual contexts is derived from the inherently destabilising nature of concepts.¹¹³⁸ The concepts, he argues, are not a trans-historical category that stays unchanged in different contexts,¹¹³⁹ but are referential contents in a discourse.¹¹⁴⁰ The efforts of identifying a core meaning of a concept inevitably result in including a wide range of semantic variations that defies any principle applicable to all instances of variations.¹¹⁴¹ This is the dilemma I encountered when including various examples of customary practice above. Customary practice, as found in the Armenian, Byzantine and Crusader concessions, proved a flexible term, with a range of meanings including local practice, ritual practice, source of rules or long-standing business practices. While it was also used in the Armenian concessions to describe a source of rules for the administration of justice in the Genoese mercantile community in the Armenian kingdom, this particular connotation of customary practice was only meaningful for the administration of justice in this instance in the Armenian concessions. Since concepts do not provide a univocal definition applicable across different times and contexts,¹¹⁴² it is important to examine, instead, the structures that determine the conditions

¹¹³⁵ Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding,” 18-20.

¹¹³⁶ Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding,” 10.

¹¹³⁷ E. J. Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors: the German tradition of intellectual history and the complex fabric of language,” *History and Theory* 49, no. 2 (2010): 194-211.

¹¹³⁸ Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 208-210.

¹¹³⁹ Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 196.

¹¹⁴⁰ Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 195.

¹¹⁴¹ Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 196.

¹¹⁴² Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 196-197.

for the enunciation of concepts.¹¹⁴³ This necessity to consider the structures affecting their enunciation is best summarised by R. Koselleck: no concept “can be so new as not to be virtually constituted in the given language and not to take its sense from the linguistic context inherited from the past”.¹¹⁴⁴ What, then, was this structure that determined the conditions for enunciation of court and customary practice in the Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice?

I argue here that three other texts, prior to Armenian concessions in 1272, 1321 and 1333, respectively, provide relevant contents concerning the discussions between the Armenian kings and Venice. These three additional texts are also in a textual form distinct from that of other seven Armenian concessional texts already examined. Examining these three texts below in 3.4 will reveal the range of issues discussed in negotiations between Venice and the Armenian kings, instead of just individual orders seen in Table 3-3 below. The importance of examining these three particular texts, two in the form of report and one in the form of instruction, is derived from my emphasis on one of the three linguistic aspects in discussions on the intellectual history: the pragmatic (the other two being the semantic and the syntactic).¹¹⁴⁵ Here, I am not ~~just~~ concerned merely with the meaning of particular terms, i.e., the semantic or the ways in which a statement was made, i.e., the syntactic. Instead, I will focus on the ways in which those Armenian concessions emerged after the negotiations between the Armenian kings and Venice, i.e., the records of prior negotiations. The pragmatic aspect concerns the relationships between linguistic forms and their users, including a speaker’s intended meanings, purposes or goals and the performed actions, such as a request.¹¹⁴⁶ In other words, ~~the~~ pragmatics is the study of meanings in contexts, not just in

¹¹⁴³ Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 198.

¹¹⁴⁴ Quoted from: Palti, “From ideas to concepts to metaphors,” 201.

¹¹⁴⁵ E. J. Palti, “The “theoretical revolution” in intellectual history: From the history of political ideas to the history of political languages,” *History and Theory* 53, no. 3 (2014): 402.

¹¹⁴⁶ G. Yule, *Pragmatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4.

semantics and syntax.¹¹⁴⁷ My recourse to these three other texts also results from the weak links between the concepts and texts, on the one hand, and the extra-textual contexts, on the other, in the concessional texts examined in 3.1 and 3.2. One aspect of this weak link concerns authorial intention – an extra-textual context.

Skinner points to the importance of an author's intention, thinking it inadequate to treat the text as possessing its own autonomy in supplying meanings.¹¹⁴⁸ I agree with Skinner that authorial intention is needed to either identify a cause for a statement or action or to correctly characterise it.¹¹⁴⁹ This authorial intention is important because it distinguishes occurrence of words from a statement in a text.¹¹⁵⁰ Regarding the use of words for a statement, the question about the intention of an author¹¹⁵¹ is therefore paramount. Depending on the intention of a speaker, a statement or a speech act¹¹⁵² can be orders, threats, confirmation or declaration.¹¹⁵³ Determining the nature such speech acts depends on the speech events, which are circumstances surrounding an utterance.¹¹⁵⁴ Surrounding these seven Armenian concessional texts to Venice, issued between 1201 and 1333, were the socio-economic and political contexts in which these texts were produced. For diplomatic exchanges, there are four main modalities for such speech acts: the assertive, the interrogative, the exclamatory and the jussive, as shown in Table 3-2. The authorial intention can be determined by the classifications of these modalities.

¹¹⁴⁷ Yule, *Pragmatics*, 3.

¹¹⁴⁸ Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 35.

¹¹⁴⁹ Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 45.

¹¹⁵⁰ Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 37.

¹¹⁵¹ Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 38.

¹¹⁵² A speech act is defined as the action of utterance to communicate. Yule, *Pragmatics*, 47.

¹¹⁵³ E. Pascual, "Pragmatics in Diplomatic Exchanges," trans. H. Mallia, in *Language and Diplomacy*, ed. J. Kurbalija and H. Slavik (Msida: DiploProjects, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, University of Malta, 2001), 226.

¹¹⁵⁴ Yule, *Pragmatics*, 47-48.

Table 3-2. Four modalities of speech acts¹¹⁵⁵

Modality	Definition	Speaker's intention
Assertive	an assertion put forward as true, but not necessarily proven	to shape the tenor of a text, which is based on what is asserted as true
Interrogative	a question or a request	to obtain a reply from the recipient
Exclamatory	expressive language of feelings	to appeal to the recipient
Jussive	an order	to induce the recipient to act in a certain manner

Thus, the relationships between concept, text and extra-textual context seem clear for my analyses. I have identified the concepts of court and customary practice as an indication of different Armenian approaches to the Western merchants' rights in the kingdom in the selected concessional texts. To explain the significance of such concepts found in these texts, I will then need to evaluate the authorial intention, one of the extra-textual contexts for analysing texts. But here precisely is the very obstacle that hinders my evaluation of their significance: the authorship of these texts. As will be shown below in Table 3-3, the declared authorial intention in them is of limited utility for discerning the significance of the contents while the changing political circumstances within the kingdom and in the Eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not seem to influence the contents between 1201 and 1321. And this obstacle renders Skinner's emphasis on authorial intention inapplicable to my subsequent analyses. To illustrate this point, I compared provisions of the seven Armenian concessional texts to Venice in Table 3-3. The columns in this table indicate the years in which an Armenian concessional text was issued. I then placed the summary of contents for each paragraph into consecutive rows of the same column. The numbers quoted in this table follow those assigned by Sopracasa in his edition of these texts. To illustrate the similarities between these seven texts, I placed similar or even identical contents on the same row, except the contents of the concessional text issued in 1333.

¹¹⁵⁵ Pascual, "Pragmatics in Diplomatic Exchanges," 226-227.

Table 3-3. Comparison of Armenian concessions to Venice

	1201 ¹¹⁵⁶	1245 ¹¹⁵⁷	1261 ¹¹⁵⁸	1272 ¹¹⁵⁹	1307 ¹¹⁶⁰	1321 ¹¹⁶¹	1333 ¹¹⁶²
Contents	(1) freedom of moving through and throughout the kingdom	(1) freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions	(1) freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions	(1) freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions	(1) freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions	(1) freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions	(1) freedom of movement into/out of the kingdom
	(2) tax exemption for all commercial activities, with two exceptions						(2) the same privilege for Venetian subjects from elsewhere
	(3) guarantee in the case of shipwreck	(2) guarantee in the case of shipwreck	(2) guarantee in the case of shipwreck	(2) guarantee in the case of shipwreck	(2) guarantee in the case of shipwreck	(2) guarantee in the case of shipwreck	(3) privilege for specified craftsmen
	(4) travel to non- hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey	(3) travel to non- hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey	(3) travel to non- hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey	(3) travel to non- hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey	(3) travel to non- hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey	(3) travel to non- hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey	(4) due to be paid by wine sellers at taverns

¹¹⁵⁶ In Latin. Cf. footnote 890.

¹¹⁵⁷ In Latin. Cf. footnote 891.

¹¹⁵⁸ In Latin. Cf. footnote 892.

¹¹⁵⁹ In French. Cf. footnote 893.

¹¹⁶⁰ In French. Cf. footnote 894.

¹¹⁶¹ In French. Cf. footnote 895.

¹¹⁶² In Latin. Cf. footnote 896.

Contents	(5) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian	(4) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian	(4) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian	(4) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian	(4) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian	(4) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian	(5) due to be paid by wine buyers and sellers
	(6) dispute settlement	(5) dispute settlement	(5) dispute settlement	(5) dispute settlement	(5) dispute settlement	(5) dispute settlement	(6) dues to be paid by buyers and sellers in Tarsus
					(6) monitoring movement of Venetians in the kingdom	(6) monitoring movement of Venetians in the kingdom	(7) no restrictions on the products to be purchased and to be exported
					(7) responsibility to compensate damage by a Venetian	(7) responsibility to compensate damage by a Venetian	(8) due to be paid for cloth
					(8) <i>baiulus</i> as guarantor of loans from Armenians to Venetians	(8) <i>baiulus</i> as guarantor of loans from Armenians to Venetians	(9) guarantee of non- interference in buying or selling grain and salt
	(7) a church and sites for other buildings	(6) a church and sites for other buildings	(6) a church and sites for other buildings	(6) a church and confirmation of other given buildings	(9) a church and confirmation of other given buildings	(9) a church and confirmation of other given buildings	(10) guarantee in case of theft suffered by the Venetians and debt owed to the Venetians

There are four similarities among these seven texts. First, the opening of the texts are of the same formula. Each begins with: ‘in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen’, followed by name of the grantor and the grantor’s standing in position and lineage and then name of the grantee.¹¹⁶³ This opening is not unchanging and is the part of a concessional text that indicates the intention of a grantor. Second, these variations are not related to the perspective and mood of the verbs in the texts. All these texts speak in the perspective of we or I and the moods of the verbs in the contents of the privileges are either subjunctive or conditional. Third, these variations are not related to the contents and their sequence in the texts. As can be observed from Table 3-3, the sequence and contents of each paragraph in one text closely mirror those of its immediate predecessor. While the contents did not remain completely unchanged from 1201 to 1333, those in 1201, 1245, 1261, 1272, 1307 and 1321 show continuity in what was granted by the Armenian kings. Thus, the text in 1245 closely mirrors that of 1201 in contents, except that the first two paragraphs in 1201 are located in the same paragraph in 1245. The sequence and contents were again followed closely by those texts from 1261 and 1272. In 1307, there were three additional paragraphs. The text in 1321 then followed closely both the contents and sequence found in the text from 1307. The only exception to this similarity in contents and sequence is the text from 1333. These three features, i.e., the opening, the mood of the verbs and the sequence and contents, remain consistent even in different languages: Latin for 1201, 1245, 1261 and 1333, and French for 1272, 1307 and 1321. The appearance of concessional texts in French reflects the dominance of the French language in the region between Cyprus and Constantinople, because the Crusader

¹¹⁶³ For extensive analyses of the opening of these texts and the diplomatics, cf. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 15-17; Langlois, “Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l’Arménie,” 8-14.

kingdoms were led by French-speaking aristocracy.¹¹⁶⁴ With the succession of Lewon II in the Armenian kingdom, the royal chancery also adopted French for producing documents.¹¹⁶⁵ In the Latin texts, immediately after the opening prayer, the name of the grantor is introduced by: “It should be known to all, present and future, that.....”¹¹⁶⁶ This declaratory formula is found in almost all those texts in Latin, but not in those in French. It is not a difference caused by the different languages, though. The use of this declaratory phrase can be seen in those in 1201, 1245 and 1261 in Latin, but not in those in 1272, 1307 and 1321 in French. The last text, in 1333 in Latin, is without the declaratory phrase, however. Therefore, it is probable that the Armenian chancery followed the form of opening from the previous concessional text, the one in French in 1321, while producing the last one in Latin in 1333. This continuity of contents in the first six concessional texts to Venice belies the question of whether these Armenian concessions reflected changing circumstances in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Despite this minor difference in the opening of these texts, all these concessional contexts consist of jussive statements, which are introduced by a declaration.¹¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the textual form of these seven Armenian concessional texts to Venice is declaration.

The fourth similar feature among them concerns the type of referring expressions found in the concessional texts. While I agree that contents are usually more important than form in diplomatic documents,¹¹⁶⁸ it is this type of referring

¹¹⁶⁴ J. M. Brincat, “The Languages of the Knights: Legislation, Administration and Diplomacy in a Multilingual State (14th-16th Centuries),” in *Language and Diplomacy*, ed. J. Kurbalija and H. Slavik (Msida: DiploProjects, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, University of Malta, 2001), 262.

¹¹⁶⁵ Langlois, “Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l’Arménie,” 8.

¹¹⁶⁶ For example, “..... Notum sit omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris, quod.....” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 26.

¹¹⁶⁷ Cf. footnote 1166.

¹¹⁶⁸ K. Hamilton, “Documenting Diplomacy, Evaluating Documents: The Case of the CSCE,” in *Language and Diplomacy*, ed. J. Kurbalija and H. Slavik (Msida: DiploProjects, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, University of Malta, 2001), 218.

expressions found in these seven texts that prevent any deeper interpretation than what was already contained in the words. A referring expression is defined as a linguistic form that enables a recipient to identify something or someone.¹¹⁶⁹ This referring expression, however, does not always point to an identifiable individual, an event or an object that exists when the referring expression is uttered. For example, the Armenian king in 1201 ordered that,

..... if some contention or disagreement between Venetians should have arisen in my land, that it should be solved by the Venetians, if they are present; if they are absent, it should be solved in the presence of the aforesaid venerable archbishop or in the presence of his archiepiscopal successors, with the previous legal action.....¹¹⁷⁰

The referring expressions underlined above in the quoted text are of ‘attributive use’, which identifies the referents, i.e., ‘contention’ or ‘disagreement’, ‘Venetians’, ‘they’ and ‘his archiepiscopal successors’, without ‘being committed to the existence of an actual person or thing’.¹¹⁷¹ Because the orders and guarantees in the concessional texts stipulated what was to happen to the Venetians in the kingdom in specified hypothetical circumstances, the referring expressions in these texts were for whomever and whatever fitted the description in the stipulation. In the quoted text above, the king referred to contention, not the one that had occurred, but whatever contention that might potentially occur between Venetians. The same can be said for the referring expression ‘Venetians’, as this order did not concern particular Venetian individuals at the time of writing, but whichever Venetians who might be involved in a dispute, of which only other Venetians were to be a part. Not all referring expressions in these concessional texts are of attributive use. For example, the names

¹¹⁶⁹ Yule, *Pragmatics*, 17.

¹¹⁷⁰ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 29 §6.

¹¹⁷¹ Yule, *Pragmatics*, 18, 127.

of the grantor and grantee in the opening of these concessional texts identify definite referents, but paragraphs concerning Venetian merchants' rights do not contain definite referents. In contrast, below is a notarial deed (a receipt) produced in Ayacium in 1315,

Entering the fifteenth day. I, Albertinus Samitarius from the boundary [i.e., parish] of Saint Paul make complete and irrevocable assurance with my heirs to you Anna daughter of the late Verardus my beloved wife and your successors regarding all the undertaking which was promised to be given for you at the time of our engagement, which was certainly guaranteed in total sixty-two pounds [of] *denariorum venecialium parvorum*.....¹¹⁷²

There are two types of referring expressions underlined in this excerpt, those of definite referent and those of indefinite referent. A definite referent is an actual individual, event or object being identified by a referring expression.¹¹⁷³ These include: 'Albertinus Samitarius', 'assurance', 'you', 'Anna', 'the late Verardus', 'my beloved wife', 'all the undertaking' and 'our engagement'. 'My heirs' and 'your successors' are referring expressions of attributive use because anyone who fitted the definition of the terms was or was to be, a referent.

For the Armenian concessional texts to Venice, only names of the grantors, the emissaries, the doges of Venice in the opening and names of the notaries and scribes at the end of the texts are definite referents. The rest of the Armenian concessional texts consists of orders and guarantees by the kings regarding hypothetical circumstances, with only a few exceptions.¹¹⁷⁴ Thus, most of the referring expressions

¹¹⁷² "Die quintodecimo intrante. Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facio ego Albertinus Samitarius de confinio Sancti Pauli cum meis heredibus tibi Anne filie condam Verardi dillecte uxori mee et tuis successoribus de tota illa repromissa que tempore nostre desponsacionis michi pro te dari promissa fuit, que vero repromissa fuit in toto libre denariorum venecialium parvorum sexaginta due....." A. Bondi Sebellico, ed., *Felice de Merlis: Prete e Notaio in Venezia ed Ayas (1315-1348)*. Vol 1 (Venice: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, 1973), 11.

¹¹⁷³ Cf. footnote 1169.

¹¹⁷⁴ For example, in the Armenian concessions to Genoa in 1201, the churches granted at Malmistra and Tarsus, i.e., 'ecclesia constructa' is understood as an existing churches, as opposed to the church

relating to Venetian merchants' rights and the kings' orders are of attributive use. While such a feature is common for texts of a legal nature, it hampers any effort to identify actual individuals. Without actual individuals, there is no other way to introduce extra-textual socio-political or economic contexts, except through names of the grantors, emissaries, doges, notaries and scribes. As I am analysing the ways in which Venetian merchants' rights were regulated in the Armenian kingdom, such attributive use in referring expressions in concessional texts only allows me to analyse these issues as they should be, not as to reasons why they occurred, because these referring expressions do not allow discovery of what actually happened to particular individuals. Since the contents in six of these seven texts are similar, the Armenian kings' regulation of Venetian merchants' rights thus seem static and unchanged.

As discussed above, these four features render these Armenian concessional texts of limited use to discover why Venetian merchants' rights were regulated in the ways seen in the concessions. While there are variations of terms in the opening of a concessional text indicating the author's intention, the contents and their sequence remain the same, with only some additions in later texts. The authorial intention, an extra-textual context, is thus of limited use for the seven concessional texts obtained by Venice. In analysing the selected concessional texts, then, this overarching textual form for statements by the rulers and the type of referring expression used set limits upon ascertaining authorial intention or examining actual cases, both factors needed for introducing extra-textual contexts.

I have here demonstrated the limitations of relying on these seven texts to examine the ways in which the Venetian merchants' rights were regulated in the

granted at Sis, which was yet to be built. Cf. footnote 940. I have yet to find textual or archaeological evidence for the location of this church.

Armenian kingdom. The concepts have been shown to be varying in meanings. The texts have been shown to be too formulaic to convey much authorial intention. The contents regarding Venetian merchants' rights did not refer to actual individuals, weakening the link between the texts and extra-textual contexts. In contrast, the three other texts, two reports and one instruction prior to concessions in 1272, 1321 and 1333, while having contents related to these seven concessional texts, do not share the textual form of the above seven texts. In Table 3-4, I have listed all the extant texts related to Armeno-Venetian relations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, along with their voice and textual form. These texts are by no means the only ones concerning Armeno-Venetian relations, but they are those agreed between the Armenian kingdom and Venice.¹¹⁷⁵ It is this question of recipient, along with the forms of a text [listed as 'Nature' in Table 3-4], that distinguishes these three other texts from the seven Armenian concessional texts already examined.

Table 3-4. Nature of all Armeno-Venetian diplomatic exchanges

Year	Speaker	Recipient	Voice	Nature
1201	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (I)	declaration of orders
1245	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration of orders
1261	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration of orders
[1270-1272]	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	itemised responses to requests by the Venetians
1272	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration of orders
1307	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration of orders
1307	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration
[1320-1321]	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	itemised responses to requests by the Venetians
1321	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration of orders
1333	Venetian senate	Venetian emissary	Venetians (we)	itemised instructions
1333	Armenian king	Venetians	Armenian king (we)	declaration of orders

¹¹⁷⁵ 'La totalità degli accordi stipulati fra Venezia e il regno armeno di Cilicia'. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 12.

All those diplomatic exchanges highlighted in black in Table 3-4 are texts not already examined comprehensively in Table 3-3. With the exception of the declaration in 1307, which confirmed renewal of Venetian privilege upon payment, the other three texts highlighted in black were not declarations of orders by a king, but are either a list of responses from an Armenian king to Venetian requests or instructions from the Venetian senate to its emissary. The recipient in one of these three texts, the instruction from the Venetian senate in 1333, is the Venetian emissary, different from all the others. Thus, these three texts, because of their different textual forms and a different voice in one case, provide contents that are relevant to, but different from, their respective subsequent concessional texts. It is here, based on these three different texts, that the relationships between concept, text and extra-textual context can finally be established for my analyses of Armenian concessions to Venice. While the textual form of the seven concessional texts limits the potential links with the extra-textual contexts that explain the absence of particular concepts, the different textual forms in these three other texts provide a different aspect of Armeno-Venetian relations that illuminates the relationship between concepts and the extra-textual contexts. While the contents in these three texts do not directly correspond to those in the subsequent concessional texts, they nevertheless reveal the range of issues discussed and negotiated, thus setting the agenda before subsequent concessional texts. In other words, the seven Armenian concessional texts to Venice are not exact comparables with these three preparatory documents. One may argue that the similarities between these seven concessional texts indicate consistency of the legal framework for Venetian trading activities over this period. This view is supported by the acknowledgement of the new office of *baiulus* in the kingdom in the

1272 concessional text,¹¹⁷⁶ despite the contents' similarities between this 1272 text and its predecessor in 1261. As will be shown below, however, the other three texts contain a range of issues not at all mentioned in the concessional texts. There is thus still a distinct possibility that there was a formula for concessional texts issued to the Venetian merchants, which accommodated .

In 3.4, I will compare the contents of these three texts and their respective subsequent concessional texts and summarise, in 3.5, the ways in which the issues concerning Venetian merchants' rights were defined, negotiated and decided eventually by the Armenian kings. This comparison will illustrate the value of these three texts for interpreting the significance of Armenian concessions discussed above.

3.4 Armenian accommodation of Venetian rights: three texts as examples

3.4.1 A Venetian report before 1272

This is the first text related to the Armenian concessions over the course of these two centuries in a distinct textual form, as shown in Table 3-4. Though undated, with only the name of the emissary, but not that of the doge, Sopracasa thinks that this text in Venetian is a preparatory document before the Armenian concessions issued in 1272, based on its position in the archival dossier and its palaeography.¹¹⁷⁷ The Venetian emissary who led the negotiation was Thomas Bondumi.¹¹⁷⁸ This report consists of a list of itemised responses from the king, Lewon II (r. 1270-1289), to requests by the Venetians. Except for no. 13 in the report, all entries consist of a request from the Venetians, followed by the king's response. I have listed the contents

¹¹⁷⁶ Cf. 6.7 no. 2.

¹¹⁷⁷ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 53.

¹¹⁷⁸ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 54.

of these entries in Table 3-5, along with the contents from the concessional text subsequently issued in 1272.

Table 3-5. Venetian report and the subsequent Armenian concessions in 1272¹¹⁷⁹

	Report between 1270 and 1272 ¹¹⁸⁰	1272 ¹¹⁸¹
Contents	(1) request for access to ecclesiastic officials in Antioch and Malmistra; agreement by the king	(1) freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions
	(2) request for administering Venetian affairs in Ayacium; agreement by the king, with the arrival of a new <i>baiulus</i>	(2) guarantee in the case of shipwreck
	(3) request for lawful treatment by royal officials; agreement by the king	(3) travel to non-hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey
	(4) request for the disposition of Venetian properties to be committed to <i>baiulus</i> ; agreement by the king	(4) disposition of properties of a dead Venetian
	(5) request for a site for church; agreement by the king, with the arrival of a new <i>baiulus</i>	(5) dispute-settlement
	(6) request for lawful treatment by the customs officials; agreement by the king	(6) a church and confirmation of other given buildings
	(7) request for five identical charters be produced to be shown at five other cities; agreement by the king	
	(8) request for the power of <i>baiulus</i> to declare the identity of a Venetian; agreement by the king, with power also on the part of the royal court	
	(9) request for a person to appear in front of the <i>baiulus</i> for identity verification; agreement by the king.	
	(10) request for tax exemption; agreement by the king, with exceptions	N/A
	(11) request for tax exemption at Malmistra and Tarsus as at Ayacium; agreement by the king	
	(12) request for <i>baiulus</i> ' jurisdiction over cases with Venetian as plaintiff(s); refusal by the king	
	(13) request for the return of Pasqual Manegeta's goods	

¹¹⁷⁹ For the translation of these two texts, cf. 6.6 and 6.7.

¹¹⁸⁰ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 53-56.

¹¹⁸¹ Cf. footnote 893.

This report indicates a wider variety of requests made by the Venetians to the Armenian king, Lewon II, than that contained in the subsequent concessional text. Overall, there are four main issues in this report: access to ecclesiastical officials (no. 1), the enforcement of the Venetian privilege (nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, 11), the administration of the Venetian affairs in the kingdom (nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12) and regarding the goods of Pasqual Manegeta (no. 13).

The request for access to the ecclesiastical officials (no. 1) indicates Venetian needs in matters relating to religious rituals and ceremonies. The rationale for such a request, however, is not comprehensible, for two reasons. First, the Venetians were already granted a church and provisions for its serving priest in Malmistra in 1201 and 1245. So there was access to such clergy in Malmistra. Second, there is no record of an Armenian bishop in the city of Antioch during the thirteenth century.¹¹⁸² The Armenians did not control the city during this time, after Lewon I's plan to expand the kingdom into Antioch was abandoned in 1216.¹¹⁸³ *Vicarius* was the official responsible in overseas Genoese colonies for receiving and confirming the complaints of merchants,¹¹⁸⁴ but this request by Venice does not seem to imply such similar functions of the *vicarius* at Malmistra and Antioch.

While the request for the enforcement of Venetian privilege in the kingdom is understandable (nos. 3 and 6), other paragraphs in the report indicate territorial limits on the king's promised tax exemption. This was made clear by the king's mention of Malmistra and Tarsus (nos. 10 and 11) where the Venetians would enjoy the royal

¹¹⁸² G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis: Series Episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium. II Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* (Padua: Messaggero, 1988), 681-692.

¹¹⁸³ P. Z. Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and its Historical Significance," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1967): 196.

¹¹⁸⁴ S. Özkutlu, "Medieval Famagusta: Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Dynamics (13th to 15th centuries)" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2015), 265.

privilege they already enjoyed at Ayacium. Such requests also indicate that the Venetians were well-established in Ayacium at least for their trading activities. This is a contrast with the primacy of Malmistra for Western merchants in 1201.¹¹⁸⁵ Venice requested identical charters to be produced so that they could be shown at five cities, i.e., Sis, Malmistra, Adana, Tarsus and *Capestran* (no. 7). The need for such identical charters at cities such as Sis and Tarsus indicates not only the lax enforcement of the Venetian privilege, but also distinguishes these five cities, in addition to Ayacium, from those others not under the direct control of the king. The Venetian request for enforcement of their privilege in Malmistra and Tarsus in a separate paragraph (no. 11) may indicate the relative concentration of Venetian mercantile activities at these two cities. In case a Venetian is a defendant in a case, Lewon II also permitted the said Venetian to appear in front of the court of the *baiulus*.¹¹⁸⁶ This is an explicit mention of the Venetian court in the kingdom, though it is not mentioned at all in any of the Armenian concessional texts to Venice before this report or since. This is another instance where the concessional texts consistently did not address an issue which was included in a preparatory document. Here, Lewon II explicitly made reference to ‘another court’, i.e., the court of the Venetian *baiulus*.

The administration of ~~the~~ Venetian affairs within the kingdom is marked by the mention of a new *baiulus* to be despatched to the kingdom. While the *baiulus* at Acre was still mentioned for cases of disposing of Venetian properties (no. 4) in the meantime, this new *baiulus* would oversee the administration of Venetian affairs being moved from Sis to Ayacium (no. 2) and the building of a new church (no. 5). On the one hand, the *baiulus* would verify the Venetian identity of an individual (no.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cf. 3.1.1.

¹¹⁸⁶ “..... Nui avemo conmandato, quando nostra corte manderà querre un Venician, que illi lo debeat menar honorandamente alia corte.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 55 §9.

8), but the king rejected the *baiulus*' power to handle cases with Venetian plaintiff(s) (no. 12).¹¹⁸⁷ This Venetian *baiulus*, yet to arrive in the kingdom, was also to be involved in disposing of properties of a Venetian in the subsequent concessional text in 1272.¹¹⁸⁸

While this report's status as a preparatory document for the subsequent Armenian concessional text issued in 1272 is established by Sopracasa,¹¹⁸⁹ the discrepancy between this preparatory document and the concessional texts over their contents has led Sopracasa to conclude that this preparatory document is an 'important departure from a model already consolidated over seventy years', a feature shared by another preparatory document produced between 1320 and 1321.¹¹⁹⁰ This preparatory document is indeed distinct from all previous concessional texts, in 1201, 1245 and 1261, in both its textual form (cf. Table 3-5) and contents. It also shares the same textual form with the preparatory document produced between 1320 and 1321, to be analysed below in 3.4.2. A comparison between this report and the subsequent concessional text, as summarised in Table 3-5, indicates no direct corresponding paragraphs between the two texts. Moreover, the contents and their sequence in the concessional text in 1272 adhered to those of the concessional texts in 1201, 1245 and 1261 and were followed by those in 1307 and 1321, with minor additions (cf. Table 3-3). This similarity between the concessional texts in 1272 and 1321, which were each preceded by a preparatory text, suggests the possibility of one concessional text being produced from the text of its immediate predecessor, while the preparatory documents included issues actually discussed during the negotiations. Because the

¹¹⁸⁷ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 49.

¹¹⁸⁸ "....., toutes les soues choses vingnent en nostre main et en nostre garde usque atant che nos aurons letre dou duc de Venise ou dou bail chi sera en Armenie," Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 59 §4.

¹¹⁸⁹ Cf. footnote 1177.

¹¹⁹⁰ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 50.

records at the royal chancery are no longer extant,¹¹⁹¹ there is no textual evidence of the actual workings of the Armenian royal chancery during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The only supporting evidence for this possibility is the repetitive contents and their similar sequence in the concessional texts preceding and following that in 1272, all in the same textual form. In addition, the mention of a *baiulus* in the preparatory document, but its absence from the subsequent concessional text in 1272, indicates that this concessional text did not reflect what was discussed in the preparatory document. To illustrate this point, that the concessional texts share similar textual form and contents, I will analyse below the contents of another preparatory document and compare it with the subsequent concessional text produced in 1321.

3.4.2 A Venetian report compiled between 1320 and 1321

As shown in Table 3-3, three additional paragraphs were added to the Armenian concessional texts issued in 1307. But the related document not in the same form is only a short confirmation of privilege renewal upon payment, issued in the same year (cf. Table 3-4). In contrast, this report, produced before the concessional text was issued in 1321, contains a list of requests by the Venetians and responses from the Armenian king, Lewon IV (r. 1320-1341), similar to the report produced between 1270 and 1272. Though this report is undated, Sopracasa sees it also as a preparatory document for the concessional text issued by Lewon IV in 1321, based on the deliberation records of the Great Council (*Maggior Consiglio*) and the name of the emissary in this report.¹¹⁹² While Lewon IV indicated that Ōšin, his predecessor, had

¹¹⁹¹ Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 4.

¹¹⁹² Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 82, 85.

renewed the Venetian privilege in the kingdom before the latter died in 1320,¹¹⁹³ there is no extant text attesting this renewal.¹¹⁹⁴ In Table 3-6, I summarise the contents of this report and compare them with those found in the subsequent concessional text issued in 1321.

Table 3-6. Venetian report and the subsequent Armenian concessions in 1321¹¹⁹⁵

Contents	Report between 1320 and 1321 ¹¹⁹⁶	1321 ¹¹⁹⁷
	(1)	(1)
	request for confirmation of privilege; agreement by the king	freedom of movement in the kingdom; tax exemption for all commercial activities with two exceptions
	(2)	(2)
	request for enforcement of privilege; agreement by the king	guarantee in the case of shipwreck
	(3)	(3)
	request for permission to sell gold and silver; partial agreement from the king	travel to non-hostile territories and guarantee in case of loss along a journey
	(4)	(4)
	request for scale replacement in the royal mint; replacement of the royal official by the king in the said mint	disposition of properties of a dead Venetian
	(5)	(5)
	request for tax exemption for Venetians when buying goods; agreement by the king	dispute-settlement
	(6)	(6)
	Request for free transit over rivers; agreement by the king	monitoring movement of Venetians in the kingdom
	(7)	(7)
	request for access to mooring facilities at Ayacium; agreement by the king	responsibility to compensate for damage by a Venetian
	(8)	(8)
	request for protection over poor Venetians; agreement by the king	<i>baiulus</i> as guarantor of loans from Armenians to Venetians
	(9)	(9)
	request for tax exemption on merchandise purchased in cities; agreement by the king	a church and confirmation of other given buildings
	(10)	N/A
	request for an additional unloading location; agreement by the king with one exception	
	(11)	
	request for free transit through the kingdom into Tabriz and Syria; agreement by the king with one condition	

¹¹⁹³ “..... Nous Lion feel de Iesu Crist, per la grace et la misericordie de Dieu roy de tous les Armins, fis dou devot e feel en Crist roy Ossim,, nous veant l’enorable privilege que la beneoit arme de nostre pere le roy Osim avoit ordené et otoyé a l’onorable e puisant comun de Venesie, otroiames e confermames celui mesme privilege au devant dit puissant comun,” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 89-90.

¹¹⁹⁴ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 82.

¹¹⁹⁵ For the translation of these two texts, cf. 6.12 and 6.13.

¹¹⁹⁶ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 85-88.

¹¹⁹⁷ Cf. footnote 895.

(12)
recommendation of an archdeacon of Tarsus; favourable response from the king

(13)
request for additional cemetery land; agreement from the king

Of the thirteen main paragraphs regarding the Venetian privileges, there are six issues being raised by the Venetians: the question of silver and gold (nos. 3 and 4), tax exemption on merchandise purchased in cities (nos. 5 and 9), movement into and through the kingdom (nos. 6, 7, 10 and 11), protection of poor Venetians in the kingdom (no. 8), the protection of an archdeacon in Tarsus (no. 12) and the enlargement of a Venetian cemetery (no. 13). The condition attached by the king to his guarantee of free transit into Tabriz (no. 11) highlights the vulnerable position of the Armenian king in diplomatic negotiations. The king promised to let the Venetian merchants to travel through the kingdom to Tabriz and Syria, if there was peace between the kingdom and the ‘Saracens’,¹¹⁹⁸ the Ilkhans (then under the rule of Abū Sa‘īd, r. 1316-1335) and the Mamluks. It is not clear how the Armenian king would ensure their travel through the kingdom to Tabriz or Syria, but this guarantee likely meant that the king would not interfere deliberately with Venetian merchants’ trading activities. Peculiarly, this condition made allowance for an eventuality that neither the king nor Venice had control over. This eventuality also had the potential of overriding the guarantee at any time. It is notable, however, that the Venice requested such a guarantee in the first place: it may show the Venice’s interest in maintaining a viable commercial itinerary through the kingdom.

Some of these issues in the report correspond to parts of the subsequent concessional text: the question of gold and silver (no. 1), movement into and through

¹¹⁹⁸ Cf. 6.12.

the kingdom (nos. 1, 3 and 6) and tax exemption on merchandise purchased in the kingdom (no. 1). Others in the subsequent concessional text remained similar to the contents of previous concessional texts: guarantee in case of shipwreck (no. 2), disposition of properties of a dead Venetian (no. 4) and dispute-settlement (no. 5). Still others emphasised the responsibility of the Venetian *baiulus* in the kingdom (nos. 6 and 8) and the responsibility of the Venetian commune for damages caused by a Venetian (no. 7). While the contents of the report and those in the subsequent concessional text match only partially, the incongruity of these two texts in their contents is particularly illustrated by two issues: the question of gold and silver brought by the Venetians into the kingdom and the need for a new anchorage for the Venetian ships.

The question of gold and silver being brought into the kingdom was mentioned in all previous concessional texts in 1201, 1245, 1261, 1272 and 1307. In this report, however, the king pointed to the need of paying tribute, and hence the requirement for the Venetian merchants to hand in their silver to the royal mint.¹¹⁹⁹ This restriction on silver, but not gold, however, is not reflected in the subsequent concessional text in 1321.¹²⁰⁰ This requirement of only paying dues for producing coins with both gold and silver had been the same for all the previous concessional texts before this one in 1321. Based on available numismatic evidence, the ‘gold coins’ alluded to in the concessions are not likely to be Armenian coinage. In his

¹¹⁹⁹ “....., sed quicumque aportaverit argentum, propter necessitatem tributi Saracenorum, volumus quod de argento quod mercatores veneti in regno nostro aportabunt, dabitur medium totius argenti per mercatores aportari in secca nostra et aliud medium vendent libere cuique absque aliquo obstaculo.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 86 §3.

¹²⁰⁰ “..... Mais tous les Venesiens qui porteront or et argent et vodront congner besans ou monee si donront la droiture, ausi com ceaus qui a Acre doneent droiture de besans ou de monee. E se l’or ou argent ne se coigne besans ou monee, ne deront nule droiture.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 90 §1.

monumental survey of over 10,000 Armenian coins during this period,¹²⁰¹ P. Z. Bedoukian just found records of sixteen gold coins dated between 1080 and 1375.¹²⁰² This led Bedoukian to hypothesise that gold coins were only struck on special occasions and in limited numbers.¹²⁰³ In addition, several of these sixteen gold coins were struck with the same dies that were used for silver Trams from the same period.¹²⁰⁴ Based on such circumstantial evidence, it is not likely that there were Armenian gold coins in circulation for commercial transactions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, it is not clear what gold coins, if any, the Venetians were striking in the Armenian kingdom.

The question of an additional anchorage site further emphasises the incongruity of these two texts. In the report, the Venetians complained that the delay for anchoring and unloading at the port of Ayacium caused them great damage. The king allowed them to unload at *Splaia*, except silver, which needed to be unloaded in Ayacium.¹²⁰⁵ This request from the Venetians regarding their anchoring need was positively received by the Armenian king. However, this was not mentioned anywhere in the subsequent concessional text (cf. Table 3-6).

If this report on agreed issues with the Armenian king was the preparatory document for the concessional text produced in 1321,¹²⁰⁶ then the question arises: what was the reason for this incongruity between a preparatory report on agreed issues between two parties and its subsequent concessional text, issued after the same

¹²⁰¹ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, ix.

¹²⁰² Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 68-70.

¹²⁰³ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 72.

¹²⁰⁴ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 74.

¹²⁰⁵ “....., quod cum mercatores veneti veniebant Ayatium et habebant multas merces ad discargandum et non poterant discargare, nisi in portu, redundabat eis ad maximum damnum et periculum, et quod deberent habere licentiam discargandi in Splaia, que vocatur in nostra lingua Ialon. Nostra responsio fuit, quod omnes mercatores veneti debeant deinceps discargare omnes suas merces in Ialonem, salvo argentum, quod volumus quod volumus quod in portu discargaretur.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 87 §10.

¹²⁰⁶ Cf. footnote 1192.

negotiations? This incongruity can also be observed in the case of the report produced between 1270 and 1272, examined in 3.4.1. Because all but one concessional text, listed in Table 3-3, shared the same contents and sequence of contents with some minor additions later, it is plausible to suggest that a new concessional text was copied from the previous one by the royal chancery after rounds of negotiations with Venice. If this was the case, the negotiations and the subsequent concessional text issued in 1333 produced entirely different contents.

3.4.3 The Venetian senate's instructions in 1333

As indicated in Table 3-3 above, the Armenian concessions issued to Venice in 1333 are entirely dissimilar from those issued before that date. Before this concessional text was issued in 1333, there is textual evidence regarding the negotiations between the kingdom and Venice, in the form of instructions to the Venetian emissary. This list of instructions contains five main resolutions.¹²⁰⁷ Such instructions include requests to be lodged with the king, Lewon IV (r. 1320-1341) and various potential responses to hypothetical reactions from the king. While there are no extant instructions to Venetian emissaries who obtained earlier Armenian concessions, this particular text prior to the 1333 concessional text offers a glimpse between the points of departure for the Armeno-Venetian negotiations and the result of the negotiations.

These instructions were produced by the Venetian senate at a time of grave economic circumstances in the Armenian kingdom before 1333. Such gravity is illustrated by two particular instances. First, the Venetian senate suspended its deliberations in 1332 regarding matters in the kingdom, before receiving briefing in

¹²⁰⁷ For the division of these instructions into five resolutions and the voting records, cf. footnote 1364.

person from the then *baiulus* in Ayacium, Petrus Bragadinus (*baiulus* in Ayacium between 1328 and 1331).¹²⁰⁸ Before this decision by the Venetian senate, Petrus Bragadinus sent a report to the senate detailing the violations of Venetian privilege in the kingdom in 1330.¹²⁰⁹ Second, the Venetian senate banned silver import into Cilicia, Crete and Cyprus between June and September 1332.¹²¹⁰ The demand for silver from the Western merchants was intensified by the royal officials after the Mamluks destroyed the two fortresses at Ayacium and imposed a heavy annual tribute on the kingdom in 1323. The Armenian king also lost control of collecting customs revenue at Ayacium and Portella.¹²¹¹

Below in Table 3-7, I summarise the contents of the instruction, following the paragraph numbers assigned by Sopracasa. For comparison, I also include the contents from the Armenian concessions issued later in the same year.

¹²⁰⁸ “..... Et propterea concorditer consulunt, quod pro nunc supersedeatur ad dictum factum. Et quia noster Baiulus Armenie rediturus est Venetias cum galeis que in proximo navigature sunt ad partes ipsas, scribatur sibi, quod caute a se senciatur de intentione Regis et quicquid sentire potest de gravitatibus supradictis, ita quod veniat quantum plus poterit informatus de omnibus supra dictis. Et in fra dies quindecim post reditum galearum ipsarum vocetur istud Consilium, et in eo sit Baiulus antedictis; et auditis ab eo omnibus que sentiverit et fecerit, super inde, fiet id quod erit honor et bonum hujus dominij,” L. M. Alishan, *L’Armeno-Veneto: Compendio Storico e Documenti delle Relazioni degli Armeni coi Veneziani. Primo Periodo, Secoli XIII-XIV*. Pt. 1 (Venice: Stab. Tip. Armeno, S. Lazzaro, 1893), 101-102.

¹²⁰⁹ This report is dated 1332 or 1333 in L. M. Alishan, but I follow that by A. Sopracasa in his more recent edition of the Armenian concessional texts to Venice. Alishan, *L’Armeno-Veneto*. Pt. 1, 36-37; Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 96.

¹²¹⁰ “Capta. Quod argentum, seu aliquod avere subtile, quod recedet cum presentibus galeis Romanie, non possit portari, vel conduci in Creta, Armenia et Cypro, pro totum mensem septembris proximi, cum navigio desarmato, sub penis strecuris et condicionibus quibus non potest portari de Venetiis extra Culfum cum navigio desarmato.....” Alishan, *L’Armeno-Veneto*. Pt. 1, 104.

¹²¹¹ “Soldanus debet habere ab Armenis tributum consuetum anno quolibet, quod est duodecim centena millium deremorum per annum, quorum deremorum singuli quatuor computantur per uno bisantino albo de Cypro. Et ultra hoc debet habere medietatem dirictus commercii Layacii et Portelle et medietatem salinarum.....” Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d’Arménie*, 232-233.

Table 3-7. Venetian instruction and the subsequent Armenian concessions in 1333¹²¹²

	Instruction in 1333 ¹²¹³	1333 ¹²¹⁴
	(1) decision regarding the arrangement of embassy	(1) freedom of movement into/out of the kingdom
Contents	(2) outline of responsibility of the emissary	(2) the same privilege for Venetian subjects from elsewhere
	(3) complaints to be relayed to the king	(3) privilege for specified craftsmen
	(4) other complaints to be collected from the local <i>baiulus</i>	(4) due to be paid by wine sellers at taverns
	(5) privilege enforcement to be requested if king feigns ignorance	(5) due to be paid by wine buyers and sellers
	(6) request for increasing price of silver	(6) dues to be paid by buyers and sellers in Tarsus
	(7) request for a fixed exchange rate between gold and local currency	(7) no restrictions on the products to be purchased and to be exported
	(8) instructed response in case king requests a payment for the privilege	(8) due to be paid for cloth
	(9) request for complete tax exemption for any transaction in merchandise and properties	(9) guarantee of non-interference in buying or selling grain and salt
	(10) proposing oath-giving supervised by the <i>baiulus</i> to pre-empt other measures by the king	(10) guarantee in case of theft suffered by the Venetians and debt owed to the Venetians
	(11) emissary's discretion regarding complaints not included in this instruction; request for inclusion of Venetian subjects from elsewhere in the privilege	
	(12) request for compensation for Christoforo Nayço and his agent	
	(13) retaliatory measures if the king refuses to enforce the privilege	N/A
	(14) retaliatory measures if the king refuses to enforce the privilege	
	(15) mandatory detour to Cyprus for ships leaving Venice for Cilicia	
	(16) communications to be enacted with other overseas governors regarding the enforcement of retaliatory measures	

¹²¹² For the translation of these two texts, cf. 6.146.15.¹²¹³ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 102-108.¹²¹⁴ Cf. footnote 896.

Of the sixteen main paragraphs in the instruction, two (nos. 3 and 4) concern collecting complaints from merchants themselves and the Venetian *baiulus* in the kingdom; three (nos. 6, 7 and 10) concern silver and gold to be transported into the kingdom; three (nos. 9, 11 and 12) focus on the rights of the Venetians and Venetian subjects in the kingdom; four (nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16) concern the retaliatory measures should the king fail to promise to enforce the privilege. Overall, there are two main points for negotiations: prices for gold and silver transported by the Venetians into the kingdom and rights of Venetian merchants and subjects.

First, the question of silver prices was related to the unfair price of silver in the kingdom (no. 6), as the instruction insisted that such a problem was not due to any impropriety on the part of the Venetian merchants.¹²¹⁵ While fraud at the royal mint was alleged by the king previously in the report produced between 1320 and 1321,¹²¹⁶ this instruction pointed to the scarcity of silver in the kingdom. While the question of silver acquisition from the Venetian merchants by the Armenian kings has been found in all the previous concessional texts, i.e., in 1201, 1245, 1261, 1272, 1307 and 1321, this was an even more pressing question before the concessional text was issued in 1333. The gravity of the circumstances was the result of losing customs revenue at Ayacium and Portella and the imposition of heavy tribute by the Mamluks.¹²¹⁷ Faced with high demand for silver because of the tribute and the loss of customs revenue,

¹²¹⁵ “..... mercatores nostri conducentes ipsum ad partes ipsas non possunt ipsum dare pro precio consueto, absque magno sinistro et gravitate ipsorum.....” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 103 §6.

¹²¹⁶ “..... Nostra responsio est, quod salva pace illorum qui dicebant illam stateram fore iniustam non est sicut dicunt, quia a longo tempore citra illa statera est in nostra secca, sed posset esse quod ille qui ponderabat argentum defraudabat mercatores, et ad hoc quod mercatores non defraudentur removeri fecimus illum et alium bonum hominem loco sui apoin mandavimus.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 86 §4.

¹²¹⁷ Cf. footnote 1211. The presence of the Mamluk officials in Ayacium is attested by a colophon produced in 1335. A. K. Sanjian, trans., *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 75 (1335 no. 6).

the need for silver in the kingdom was such that the Venetian emissary was instructed to seek an alternative solution to the problem. Foreseeing the failure of the king to promise on the price of silver, the instruction (no. 7) required the emissary to negotiate a fixed exchange rate for gold ducats brought by the Venetians into the kingdom, in exchange for the local currency, *taculinum*. The emissary was further instructed (no. 10) to dissuade the king from pursuing any measure against Venetians perceived to have failed to submit all the silver in their possession. To pre-empt any potential investigatory measure or punishment by the king, the emissary was to propose an oath from the merchants supervised by the *baiulus* in the presence of some royal officials. Combined together, these three paragraphs indicate that there was a gap between the official rate for silver paid by the royal officials and the market value of the silver. Such a gap in prices was understandably a strong incentive for the Venetians to hide away silver, and indeed such activity was alleged by the king.

Second, the three paragraphs (nos. 9, 11 and 12) concerning rights of Venetian merchants and subjects point to three types of Venetians. The first type (no. 12) is exemplified by the case of Christoforo Nayço. Compensation for his loss, resulting from the confiscation of his timber, was to be demanded by the emissary from the king. This Christoforo Nayço was mentioned ‘with our loyal subject or his agent’¹²¹⁸ in the instruction. While the agent could be applicable to anyone Christoforo Nayço commissioned to carry out his business in the Eastern Mediterranean,¹²¹⁹ this loyal subject was applicable to local persons being granted Venetian status while in the

¹²¹⁸ “..... quod Christoforo Nayço, nostro fideli, vel eius procuratori, integre satisfiat de damno sibi illato in lignamene,” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 106 §12.

¹²¹⁹ A. L. Udovitch, “At the Origins of the Western Commenda: Islam, Israel, Byzantium?” *Speculum* 37, no. 2 (1962): 198-199.

kingdom.¹²²⁰ Such loyal subjects are the second type of Venetians, whose ability to enjoy royal privilege was not guaranteed by the king. The instruction thus demanded the king's promise that such loyal subjects should be exempted from paying dues for transactions concerning merchandise and properties. In other words, Venice requested the king to expand coverage to these people of the privilege enjoyed by the Venetians. Notably, the instruction specified all kinds of estates from which these people could acquire merchandise.¹²²¹ This specification indicates that the trading activities conducted by or on behalf of the Venetians were not restricted to the cities. Finally, the third type (no. 11) concerns the inhabitants from places in Venetian possession around the Eastern Mediterranean.¹²²² The distinction of these different Venetians indicates that the Armenian king did not consider all of them equally eligible for the royal privilege granted to the Venetians.

Finally, should the king refuse to promise or agree regarding the above two main issues, the emissary was instructed to enact retaliatory measures. Not only are the penalties against merchants and non-merchants specified (no. 13) – 500 pounds and 50 pounds, respectively – but also the penalty of half the value of merchandise left in the kingdom after the deadline would be charged. An exception was made for those Venetians or loyal subjects who had resided in the kingdom for three years or

¹²²⁰ D. Jacoby, "The Economy of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia: Some Neglected and Overlooked Aspects," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens XIIIe-XVe Siècle*, ed. C. Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 283.

¹²²¹ "Et si dictus rex diceret quod vellet quod nostri fideles solvant de mercibus et rebus, Et dicat idem ambaxator quod de aliis casualibus spectantibus proceribus regiis militibus et feudatis et aliis, nostri taliter se habebunt ex liberalitate ipsorum," Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 104-105 §9.

¹²²² "....., quam videtur rex velle facere in non tractando pro Venecis illos de Creta, Corono, Nigroponte et de aliis locis nostris, nec aliquos alios Venetos, preterquam natos in Venecia," Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 105 §11.

more.¹²²³ For those goods or merchandise manufactured in the kingdom after the deadline, a penalty of half the value of the goods or merchandise was to be imposed (no. 14). To complete the blockade on trading activities into the kingdom, all ships going to Cilicia from Venice were to wait in Cyprus to see if there existed an agreement between the kingdom and Venice (no. 15). To ensure the enforcement of the penalties, the officials of the commune, both in Venice and overseas, were to be awarded a quarter of the penalties, the amount of which also applied to whistle-blowers (no. 16).

This instruction also contains clarification concerning the power of the emissary, such as that he was allowed discretion to negotiate on issues not included in the instruction, but raised by the king.¹²²⁴ It also highlights issues that needed to be especially attended to (nos. 8 and 9), by indicating that a written guarantee was yet to be produced by the king.¹²²⁵ The emissary was also reminded of what an Armenian emissary had offered on the question of Venetian subjects in the kingdom¹²²⁶ and the compensation for Christoforo Nayço,¹²²⁷ to pursue a favourable decision by the king regarding these two issues. Because the emissary was required to instantly inform the Venetian *baiulus* in Cyprus of the progress of the negotiations,¹²²⁸ the Armenian king understandably faced pressure to respond to the issues raised by the emissary. In the

¹²²³ “..... Verum si aliqui Veneti, vel qui pro Venetis dstringuntur, fuissent et essent continui habitatores in dicto regno tribus annis vel inde supra et nollent recedere de regno, possint cum suo remanere non obstantibus supradictis.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 106 §13.

¹²²⁴ “....., committatur dicto ambaxatori nostro quod in facto dictarum differenciarum faciat sicut pro honore nostro et bono negociorum ipsorum viderit convenire:” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 105-106 §11.

¹²²⁵ §8: “.....; non tamen de hoc per scripturam fieri permittat aliquam mentionem”; §9: “.....; non tamen de hoc per scripturam fieri permittat aliquam mencionem.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 104-105.

¹²²⁶ “..... quod in omnibus casalibus spectantibus dicto regi a dicta soluzione liberaliter sint exempti, sicut obtulit eius ambaxator, qui fuit hic.” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 105 §9.

¹²²⁷ “..... quam solutionem libere obtulit ambaxator dicti regis, qui fuit hic;” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 106 §12.

¹²²⁸ “..... Et committatur dicto ambaxatori quod statim scribat baiulo nostro Cipri quid fecerit, sive de concordia, sive de discordia, cum dicto rege.....” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 107 §16.

Armenian concessions issued subsequently in 1333, a range of items was included, that are entirely distinct from the previous Armenian concessions to Venice. While the items listed in Table 3-7 do not correspond with the instruction and the Armenian concessions, the latter did address some of the issues contained in the instruction. For the two main issues discussed above regarding the instruction, the question of silver and gold to be transported into the kingdom was not mentioned at all in the concessions in 1333. In contrast, the Armenian king addressed the concerns over rights of the Venetians in the kingdom. Of the three types of Venetians discussed above, the Venetians from Venice and other places in Venetian possession were assured of their rights regarding their movement into and out of the kingdom (nos. 1 and 2) and no restrictions on the merchandise to be bought and sold (no. 7). The loyal subjects of Venice, or inhabitants granted Venetian status in the kingdom, were not directly mentioned in the concessions. While no. 9 in the instruction sought a guarantee of Venetian activities everywhere without specifying the types of merchandise,¹²²⁹ six paragraphs in the concessions (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9) include a variety of industries in the kingdom in which the Venetian merchants took part that were subject to limited taxation.

In the case of weavers (no. 3), the king mentioned those Venetians residing in the kingdom and practising their craft, whose descendants were also to enjoy privileges granted to the Venetians.¹²³⁰ It is not clear if this was applicable to local inhabitants with Venetian status in the kingdom, but it indicates cases of Venetians not just travelling for business in the kingdom. Such long-term Venetian residents

¹²²⁹ Cf. footnote 1221.

¹²³⁰ “*Tertio, quod illi Veneti, qui sunt textitores pannorum de zambolotis et habitatores in terris nostris, libertatem dedimus eis per nostra privilegia, quod illi et illorum filii liberi erunt de iuribus regalibus pro artibus suis, quas faciunt, et nemo iniuriam faciat eis.*” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 110 §3. (Italics in the Sopracasa edition.)

might have been the Venetians eligible for exemptions from Venetian retaliatory measures in the instruction in 1333,¹²³¹ and the reason for the Venetian request for more land for a cemetery in the report produced between 1320 and 1321.¹²³²

The king then set a fixed rate payable for selling wine in the Venetians' own taverns (no. 4), buying and selling wine in and outside the city (no. 5), buying salt and buying and selling hides in Tarsus (no. 6) and buying cloth (no. 8). He also guaranteed that his officials would not interfere in buying and selling grain and salt (no. 9). The king made a distinction between two wine-selling activities. The first was to be taxed in *taculinum* (no. 4),¹²³³ the second was to be taxed in the new Tram (deremum novum) (no. 5).¹²³⁴ For *taculinum*, there are two different observations regarding its value. Langlois thinks it a corruption by the scribe from an unknown Armenian term and suggests various medieval currencies for this term.¹²³⁵ This opinion is followed by Bedoukian, who is unsure of its metallic contents.¹²³⁶ A. Evans, in his index for Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's merchant handbook, equates *taccolini* with *tacorin* and thus *takavor*, i.e., *թագաւոր* ('king' in Armenian).¹²³⁷ As there is no record of the revenue at such Venetian taverns, it is not possible to decide which currency, from those suggested by Langlois and Evans, is more likely to be the

¹²³¹ Cf. footnote 1223.

¹²³² "Item, petiit a nobis prefatus dominus ambaxator pro parte domini ducis et comunis Venetiarum unum masenum, quod iuxta simiterium suum erat, quod masenum intendebant ponere in augmentum sui simiterii....." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 88 §13.

¹²³³ "Quarto, quod illi Veneti, qui tabernam tenent ad vendendum vinum in terris nostris, exactionem illam quam recipiunt ab eis officiales nostri, id est unum tacolinum in septimana, amplius non dent....." Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 110 §4. (Italics in the Sopracasa edition.)

¹²³⁴ "Quinto, quod quando Veneti mustum vel vinum emebant vel vendebant in civitate, recipiebatur ab eis ius pro qualibet vegete unum deremum novum. et quando portabant extra civitatem, duos deremos novos, ulterius non dent supra dictum ius," Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 110 §5. (Italics in the Sopracasa edition.)

¹²³⁵ V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: C. Rollin, 1855), 15.

¹²³⁶ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 43.

¹²³⁷ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936), 437.

taculinum in this text. In the merchant's notebook called *Zibaldone da Canal*,¹²³⁸ compiled between 1311 and 1331,¹²³⁹ *taculinum* is the smallest currency unit of silver in value then circulating in Cilicia: 30 *taculinum* equalled 3 Cilician *bezant*, 25 *new dirhem* and, in turn, 8 Cypriot *white bezant*; also, 13 *taculinum* equalled 10 *dirhem* and in turn, 1 *saracen bezant*.¹²⁴⁰ As this Cilician *bezant* is said to be of *Romania* by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti,¹²⁴¹ J. E. Dotson thinks it is the *hyperpyra* circulated in the Byzantine empire.¹²⁴² While gold *hyperpyra* ceased to be struck from the mid-fourteenth century in Constantinople, it remained as a money of account.¹²⁴³ Between 1366 and 1368, one Venetian ducat equalled two *hyperpyra*.¹²⁴⁴ The date of *taculinum*'s introduction is not clear, but *taculinum* was not listed¹²⁴⁵ in a brief list of exchange rates between the Venetian currencies and other currencies compiled by the Venetian customs office in Venice between 1268 and 1293.¹²⁴⁶ In the instruction to its emissary to the kingdom (no. 7), the Venetian senate requested a fixed exchange rate for gold ducats: 1 gold ducat should equal 23 *taculinum*. This was necessary as *taculinum* and *dirhem* are the currencies for payment in Ayacium.¹²⁴⁷ Without a comparable exchange rate documented elsewhere between Venetian ducat and

¹²³⁸ J. E. Dotson, trans., *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice: The Zibaldone da Canal* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), 9.

¹²³⁹ Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, 10.

¹²⁴⁰ Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, 111-112; “..... li 13 tacolini core per X deremi e li X deremi core per J bexanto saraxin e tal fiada val men e chi farà marchado a Laiaç a bexanto, lo bexante se (con)ta X tachollini..... Sepis che X tachollini se conta in Laiaç J bexante e li deremi VIIJ e 1/3 novi e val lo bexante d’Armenia e li 3 bexanti d’Armenia se conta bexanti VIIJ blanchi de Çepro.....” A. Stussi, ed., *Zibaldone da Canal: Manoscritto Mercantile del Sec. XIV* (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1967), 62.

¹²⁴¹ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura*, 59.

¹²⁴² Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, 220; F. C. Lane and R. C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*. Vol. 1. *Coins and Moneys of Account* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 45.

¹²⁴³ P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), 286.

¹²⁴⁴ Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 287.

¹²⁴⁵ “..... Item biç. Armenie fiat ad d[i]remis x pro biç. saracenato fiat ad sol. xxxii.....” Lane and Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*. Vol. 1, 627.

¹²⁴⁶ Lane and Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*. Vol. 1, 295-296.

¹²⁴⁷ Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth Century Venice*, 111; “..... In lLaiaç se fa li pagamenti de deremi e de tachollini.....” Stussi, *Zibaldone da Canal*, 62.

taculinum, I here rely on the available historical exchange rates noted immediately above: one Venetian gold ducat equalled 2 *hyperpyra*, i.e., 2 Cilician *bezant*, and one Cilician *bezant* equalled 10 *taculinum*. Consequently, one Venetian gold ducat would have equalled 20 *taculinum*, less than the exchange rate requested by the Venetian senate in the instruction in 1333. The fixed rate proposed in the Venetian instruction was thus more favourable than that calculated on the basis of these two currencies' value in relation to *hyperpyra*.

New Tram refers to coinage produced in the reign of Lewon II (r. 1270-1289), different from those Trams under Lewon I (r. 1198-1219) and Het'um I (r. 1226-1270) because of the lesser silver content of Lewon II's coinage.¹²⁴⁸ The different rates for wine-buying and wine-selling within and outside the city may be an indication of the king's intention to provide Venetian merchants with fiscal incentives to engage in this activity in the city. With customs revenue at Ayacium taken over by the Mamluks in 1323,¹²⁴⁹ Tarsus became the main point of contact of the kingdom with the Mediterranean traffic. This is indicated by the reference to Venetian merchants buying salt upon entrance and exit in the city of Tarsus and in *Peliparia*.¹²⁵⁰

Overall, the concessions addressed only some of the issues raised in the instruction: nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 responded to concerns over the rights of the Venetians in the kingdom, raised in nos. 9, 11 and 12 in the instructions. Such responses in the concessions, however, did not explicitly guarantee the rights of local inhabitants with Venetian status in the kingdom, nor did these responses address the confiscation suffered by Christoforo Nayço.

¹²⁴⁸ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 48.

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. footnote 1211.

¹²⁵⁰ "*Sexto, quod illa iura, que dabant in civitate Tarsensi pro qualibet salina in introitu et in exitu, et etiam in Peliparia in emendo vel vendendo coria, similiter in portu Tarsensi, intrando et exeundo cum navibus suis, amplius non dent,*" Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 110 §6. (Italics in the Sopracasa edition.)

The concessional text of 1333 is entirely unlike all those previous concessional texts from previous Armenian kings, in both its contents and the contents' sequence. This complete dissimilarity is only partially explicable by considering the contents of the instruction from the Venetian senate to its emissary to the kingdom. Sopracasa believes that this concessional text echoed the report by Petrus Bragadinus from 1330,¹²⁵¹ whose letter detailing the violations of Venetian privileges in the kingdom contributed to the contents of the instruction in 1333. Considering the contents of Petrus Bragadinus' report, however, there are still issues not addressed in the instruction and the subsequent concessional text. For example, Petrus Bragadinus described an instance of the properties of a Venetian who died intestate at Adana being confiscated by royal officials.¹²⁵² Nevertheless, the point-by-point stipulations in the 1333 concessional text consisted of unprecedented precision in comparison with all its predecessors.¹²⁵³ Sopracasa contends that this departure from the model of a concessional text, repeated in all previous concessional texts, was the result of diplomatic negotiations before it was issued in 1333.¹²⁵⁴ I agree with the view that this concessional text in 1333 was the result of diplomatic negotiations, but this view cannot be the basis upon which to argue that only this concessional text is unique. I disagree with Sopracasa that these three other texts, two reports and one instructional text were departures from the model exemplified by the first of seven Armenian concessional texts.¹²⁵⁵ The appearance of such departures is the result of contrast between these two reports and one instructional text, on the one hand and the

¹²⁵¹ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 96.

¹²⁵² “..... Ancor che un che mori in Adana intestado, è che io li demande che li me lassasse tuor li suoi beni, com io deuevo, despensandoli come deueua; nol fese, che è contra el privilegio.....” Alishan, *L'Armeno-Veneto*. Pt. 1, 37.

¹²⁵³ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 98.

¹²⁵⁴ Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 100.

¹²⁵⁵ Cf. especially footnotes 1190 and 1254.

respective concessional texts following these three texts on the other. Such a contrast highlights differences between the contents in the three other texts, on the one hand and the repetitive contents contained in the first six of the seven Armenian concessional texts made to Venice, on the other. Previous concessional texts, although they show repeated contents and repeated sequence, were also the results of negotiations. Only by the textual form and the voice of a text are these three other texts distinguished from all seven Armenian concessional texts to Venice.¹²⁵⁶ This distinction between these two groups of texts, the seven texts and the three preparatory texts, indicates that these two groups are not exact comparanda for interpreting the significance of their contents. The discrepancy between the contents of a report and those of its subsequent concessional text thus indicates a possible chancery working practice for issuing concessional texts to Venice, for which there does not exist textual evidence.

3.5 Conclusion: regulating rights of Western merchants

There are four findings from my analyses in this chapter: (1) the significance of courts and of a specified source of law in protecting Western merchants' rights in the Armenian kingdom and the Crusader kingdoms; (2) the non-recognition of Genoese and Venetian customs or law in handling lawsuits in the Byzantine empire in the chrysobulls issued to Genoa and Venice; (3) the Venetian merchants' rights in the Armenian kingdom changed over time; (4) and the importance of the purpose of a concessional text when interpreting concessions obtained by the Western merchants from around the Eastern Mediterranean.

¹²⁵⁶ Cf. Table 3-4.

The first two findings are illustrative for the importance of protective mechanisms for Western merchants around the Eastern Mediterranean. In the course of pursuing the first two findings, I encountered two particular difficulties, i.e., the prescriptive nature of these concessions and the repetitive contents in the Armenian concessions to Venice, which restricted the relevance of these findings for analysing the ways in which the Armenian kings regulated the rights of Western merchants. To address the first difficulty, I reviewed past approaches to contextualising and interpreting texts.¹²⁵⁷ To address the second difficulty, I adopted the methodology of the pragmatics, examining the intended effect of these concessions¹²⁵⁸ and the textual form in which such contents were delivered.¹²⁵⁹ Addressing these two difficulties led me to the final two findings.

(1) Court (*curia*) and a specified source of law for handling lawsuits involving the Western merchants were an important protective mechanism for these merchants in the Armenian kingdom and the principality of Antioch. Both Genoese and Venetian merchants enjoyed protection in the principality of Antioch through the establishment of courts in the principality and a specified source of law for the administration of justice in the Western merchant communities. Bohemond III of Antioch adopted different approaches to protecting the rights of the Genoese and Venetian merchants. For Venice, he reiterated a promise made in 1167 by his predecessor about a Venetian court and the source of law for handling lawsuits by the Venetian merchant community in the principality.¹²⁶⁰ Later in 1183, however, Bohemond III did not mention either the court or the source of law for handling lawsuits.¹²⁶¹ For Genoa,

¹²⁵⁷ Cf. 3.3.2.

¹²⁵⁸ Cf. Table 3-2.

¹²⁵⁹ Cf. Table 3-4.

¹²⁶⁰ Cf. footnote 1026.

¹²⁶¹ Cf. footnote 1027.

Bohemond III permitted it in 1189 to set up courts in the principality to handle lawsuits, with the exception of specified cases and of long-term Genoese residents in the Crusader kingdoms, who would be subject to royal justice.¹²⁶² Therefore, the concessions from Bohemond III of Antioch indicate a changing and developing approach, even by the same ruler, regarding the site of handling lawsuits by the Western merchants, the non-admissibility of certain cases in their courts and the applicable source of law for the Genoese and Venetian merchants.

Besides permission from the Eastern Mediterranean rulers that merchants from a specified city could handle their own lawsuits, some merchants also resorted to inserting an enforcement clause in their contracts. In 1430 in Famagusta, Augustinus Grillus listed places where he pledged to uphold the rights in the deed.¹²⁶³ A similar clause regarding the enforcement of a deed can be found earlier in 1374¹²⁶⁴ and later in 1435¹²⁶⁵ and 1445.¹²⁶⁶ While the clause makes it clear that the enumerated places are where one contracting party promises to uphold the rights included in the contract,¹²⁶⁷ it is not clear if the judges and officials specified in these deeds were

¹²⁶² Cf. footnote 1010.

¹²⁶³ “..... Acto in presenti instrumento, tam in principio, medio, quam in fine ipsius, quod dictus Augustinus pro predictis possit et valeat realiter et personaliter conveniri, destineri et arestari Ianue, Pisis, Nicie, Mediolano, Papie, Lombardie, Chio, Peyre, Roddo, Caffè et in totis partibus orientalibus et in tota insula Cipri et sub quovis iudice, officio et magistratu, tam ecclesiastico quam seculari, civili et criminali, et ubi inventus, captus et detemptus et arestatus fuerit, ibi per pactum expresum iuri stari promissit et solucionem integram facere ipsis vel legiptime persone pro eis perinde ac «si» presens contractus foret ibidem celebratus vel solucio destinata, renunciens in premissis omni privilegio, capitulo, convencioni, decreto, salvoconducto et omnibus aliis iuribus per que personaliter conveniri posset.....” M. Balard et al., eds., *Gênes et l’Outre-mer: Actes Notariés de Famagouste et d’Autres Localités du Proche-Orient (XIVe-XVe S.)* (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2013), 148.

¹²⁶⁴ “..... Acto in presenti instrumento quod dictus Leonardus pro supradictis omnibus possit et debeat realiter et personaliter conveniri, capi et destineri Famagoste, Roddi, Peyre, Syi, Metelini, Veneciis, Messane, Neapoli, Ianue et ubique locorum et terrarum ubi inventus, conventus, captus et arestatus fuerit et sub quocumque iudice, officio et magistratu, tam ecclesiastico quam seculari, ac si presens contractatus ibidem foret celebratus et predictorum solucio destinata, renunciens privilegio fori non sui et non competentis iudicis, capitulo, convencioni et omni alii iuri et legum auxilio per quod contra predicta dicere, venire, vel opponere posset vel modo aliquo se tueri.....” Balard et al., *Gênes et l’Outre-mer*, 110.

¹²⁶⁵ Balard et al., *Gênes et l’Outre-mer*, 180.

¹²⁶⁶ Balard et al., *Gênes et l’Outre-mer*, 189.

¹²⁶⁷ Cf. footnote 1263.

Genoese. In other notarial deeds, residents from Pera, the Genoese quarter north of Constantinople, were called the *burgenses* of Pera.¹²⁶⁸ The legal status of such an enforcement clause and that of such residents from Pera, however, are outside the scope of my thesis.

In the Armenian concessions, only Genoa obtained permission to set up a court handling lawsuits involving a Genoese citizen according to the Genoese customs in the kingdom. There is no such mention of a Venetian court or Venetian customs for handling lawsuits involving a Venetian in the kingdom. Moreover, contents in the series of Armenian concessions to Venice between 1201 and 1321 are repetitive, with only minor changes and some additions later.¹²⁶⁹

(2) The Byzantine emperors, unlike those rulers in settler societies such as the principality of Antioch or the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, consistently did not recognise Genoese and Venetian customs as a source of law in their concessions prescribing the ways in which the Western merchants' rights were to be protected. The only exception was Michael VIII's promise to Genoa that the latter was to enjoy complete jurisdiction over cases involving a Genoese citizen, but it was not clear if this promise was implemented when Michael VIII finally captured Constantinople in 1261.¹²⁷⁰ Because the legal force of a custom was disputed in the Byzantine legal tradition,¹²⁷¹ the recognition of Venetian customs in Byzantine concessions was limited to the Venetian religious rites and local customs dues at Venice for the Byzantine merchants.¹²⁷² For the contents in the Byzantine concessions, there are instances of repetitive contents in successive concessional texts from Michael VIII to

¹²⁶⁸ Cf. examples from a deed in 1383. Balard et al., *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 351, 320.

¹²⁶⁹ Cf. Table 3-3.

¹²⁷⁰ Cf. footnotes 1056 and 1057.

¹²⁷¹ Cf. 3.2.2.2.

¹²⁷² Cf. footnotes 1044, 1045, 1046, 1049 and 1050.

Venice, similar to what is observed in those Armenian concessions to Venice. The contents in Byzantine concessions to Genoa and Venice before 1204 or to Genoa after 1261, however, are not as repetitive. Therefore, interpreting the Armenian concessions to Venice required relevant extra-textual contexts, whether economic, political or social. These extra-textual contexts providing information on the implementation and significance of these concessions would be an ideal basis for better assessment of these concessions. Introducing such extra-textual contexts was, however, hindered by the prescriptive nature of textual sources of a legal nature in general and the repetitive contents of these Armenian concessions in particular. Without information on these concessions' implementation by the kingdom's officials, assessing the significance of these concessions then relies on comparative analysis of other texts related to these concessions. The three preparatory documents, each compiled before a concessional text, are thus suitable examples for comparison.

There is textual evidence of a range of issues being discussed and recorded in these three preparatory documents, i.e., those discussed in 3.4, before the issuance of a concessional text in 1272, 1321 and 1333, respectively. There are discrepancies between the contents of these preparatory documents and those of their respective subsequent concessional texts. To address such discrepancies, I first identified the textual form of all seven Armenian concessions to Venice between 1201 and 1333: these are very similar to each other but different from the above three preparatory documents.¹²⁷³ After I noted the same textual forms in which these Armenian concessions were made to Venice, I then compared the discrepancies between the two reports and one instructional text, on the one hand and their respective subsequent concessional text, on the other. The results of such comparisons are my third finding.

¹²⁷³ Cf. Table 3-4.

(3) For the third finding, I summarise here the changing focus found in these three texts. These three texts, which consist of two reports and one instructional text, present different sets of issues related to Venetian merchants' rights, in addition to the usual requests regarding freedom of movement into and within the kingdom, tax exemption on commercial transactions and enforcement of privilege granted by the kings. The first report, before the 1272 concessions, indicates an organisational development for the administration of the Venetian community in the kingdom: a new Venetian official, *baiulus*, was to be installed at Ayacium, where the royal official responsible for the Venetians was also to be stationed. While the power of the *baiulus* was discussed in this report, the king, Lewon II, refused to authorise the new Venetian *baiulus* to handle lawsuits with Venetian plaintiff(s). This report also indicates the territorial limits on the privilege granted by the king, because Venice requested several copies of the same concessional text to be produced, for display at five locations other than Ayacium. The emissary also requested that the king compensate a Venetian merchant for his losses in the kingdom. The second report, before the 1321 concessions, shows changing concerns on the part of Venice regarding its merchants in the kingdom: not only did the emissary raise the question of poor Venetians being harassed by royal officials, but also the enlargement of the Venetian cemetery was requested. Such requests indicate the long-term residence of some Venetians in the kingdom and the varied socio-economic status of Venetians in Armenian society. Venetians were not the only long-term residents in the kingdom, though. In 1215, the Genoese merchants secured a quarter in Tarsus,¹²⁷⁴ which indicates Genoese possession of property in Tarsus. In the Armenian concessions to Genoa in 1288,

¹²⁷⁴ “..... Dono preterea et concedo..... omnibus Ianuensibus et filiis Ianuensium et illis omnibus qui dicti sunt Ianuenses vicum unum in civitate Tarsensi habendum et possidendum iure perpetuo libere et quiete et unam ecclesiam et terram ad faciendum et edificandum in ea balneum et furnum et ad plantandum in ea iardinum.....” Puncuh, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/2, 170.

immoveable property acquired by a Genoese, who died intestate, through marriage to an Armenian woman should be handed to the royal officials.¹²⁷⁵ These two instances indicate that the Genoese presence in the kingdom was not transient, but involved ownership and disposition of immoveable properties in the kingdom.

The question of gold and silver was also raised by the Venetian emissary, although the king insisted on the royal mint's acquisition of all things silver to pay tribute to the Mamluks. In the instructions from the Venetian senate in 1333, the Venetian emissary was to request the inclusion of Venetians from the territories controlled by Venice in the privileges granted by the Armenian king. The question of silver was also to be raised, but the the instruction also advised the emissary to request a fixed exchange rate between the Venetian gold currency and the local currency. Similar to the first report, the emissary was instructed to raise the issue of a merchant's timber being confiscated.

From these two reports and one instructional text, it is also clear that Venice requested protections of Venetian merchants in the Armenian kingdom on various issues, instead of the same issues as suggested by those seven Armenian concessional texts. The rejection by the Armenian kings of certain issues in these preparatory documents also shows that the Armenian kings did not accept all the Venetian requests during the negotiations. Certainly, the Armenian concessions were part of a survival strategy to ensure the presence of Western merchants and possible military

¹²⁷⁵ “..... Item si aliquis Ianuensis qui sit habitator terre et accipiat uxorem et accipiat heritagium cum uxore, ex parte uxoris sue, vel qui habuerit in donatione et ipse decesserit ab intestato et sine herede, omnes sue res preter heritagos debeat redire in manus comunis et heritagium debeat redire in manus curie.....” Pallavicino, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/7, 77.

aid from the West.¹²⁷⁶ The Armenian kings, however, were not as powerless as the term ‘survival strategy’ suggests.

(4) The fourth finding concerns the importance of recognising the textual form, i.e., the audience and purpose, of a text before interpreting the said text. This was necessary because of the repetitive contents of the Armenian concessions to Venice and, to a lesser extent, of the first two Armenian concessional texts to Genoa. Such a feature of repetition has also been used by D. Jacoby to infer the contents of earlier Seljuk concessions to Venice in the first half of the thirteenth century based on the contents of the last of three such concessional texts, of which the first two are no longer extant.¹²⁷⁷ This repetition in the Armenian concessions has been acknowledged by historians.¹²⁷⁸ Among the three other texts, two are reports compiled by the Venetian emissary visiting the kingdom and reporting back to Venice specified items the Armenian kings agreed to; one is an instructional text issued by the Venetian senate to its emissary regarding issues to be negotiated and appropriate responses in hypothetical circumstances. With this distinction between two types of text regarding Armenian concessions to Venice established, I then compared the contents of the Armenian concessions and those of the three texts. While these three texts were preparatory documents before the Armenian kings issued their concessions to Venice, their contents do not correspond to their respective subsequent concessional texts.¹²⁷⁹ The forms of textual evidence, however, provides a basis for designing a hierarchy of

¹²⁷⁶ D. Abulafia, “The Levant trade of the minor cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: strengths and weaknesses,” in *The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of Eliyahu Ashtor (1914-1984)*, ed. B. Z. Kedar and A. L. Udovitch (Haifa: Gustav Heinemann Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Haifa, 1988), 192.

¹²⁷⁷ D. Jacoby, “Pisan Presence and Trade in Later Byzantium,” in *Koinotaton Doron: das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204-1461)*, ed. A. Berger, S. Mariev and G. Prinzing (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 54.

¹²⁷⁸ For example, Langlois, “Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l’Arménie,” 16.

¹²⁷⁹ Cf. 3.4.

evidence regarding these Armenian concessions and other textual evidence in regard to protecting Venetian merchants in the Armenian kingdom. Recognising these Armenian concessional texts to Venice as being of different textual forms also avoids conflating different types of textual evidence regarding Venetian rights in the kingdom. Similar discrepancies between a concessional text and other textual evidence related to diplomatic negotiations are also seen in the Genoese courts being mentioned not in Byzantine chrysobulls, but in a testimony of imperial officials.¹²⁸⁰ While the contents of textual sources related to diplomatic exchanges are certainly important,¹²⁸¹ my analyses of Armenian concessions to Venice demonstrated the importance of identifying the textual form of such texts before interpreting their contents. Such identification is instrumental in determining whether a comparison is being made between comparable examples. In the case of the Armeno-Venetian relations, there is already a compilation of relevant textual evidence, edited by Alishan,¹²⁸² that is related to Armeno-Venetian relations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Such textual evidence consists not only of texts in various textual forms, e.g., records of deliberation, reports from the Venetian *baiulus* in the kingdom and orders addressing the Venetian overseas governors, but also of different intentions associated with each text. Such diversity in form for textual evidence can also be seen in diplomatic exchanges between Genoa, Pisa and Venice with the Byzantine emperors before 1204,¹²⁸³ and some others related to my analyses in this

¹²⁸⁰ Cf. footnote 1058.

¹²⁸¹ Cf. footnote 1168.

¹²⁸² L. M. Alishan, *L'Armeno-Veneto: Compendio Storico e Documenti delle Relazioni degli Armeni coi Veneziani. Primo Periodo, Secoli XIII-XIV*. 2 Pts. (Venice: Stab. Tip. Armeno, S. Lazzaro, 1893).

¹²⁸³ Penna, *The Byzantine Imperial Acts to Venice, Pisa and Genoa*, 299.

chapter.¹²⁸⁴ Constructing classification and methods of identification, based on textual form for such a combination of texts, however, is outside the scope of my thesis.

To conclude, my analyses of Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries demonstrated the range of rights enjoyed by these merchants in the kingdom and the changing focus on various issues related to these rights in successive negotiations in the case of Venetian merchants. Understanding the ways in which the Armenian kings, the princes of Antioch and the Byzantine emperors regulated the rights of Western merchants in their respective dominions is important because these rights are indicators of conflicting legal traditions and the extent to which adjustments or accommodations were made. Focusing on the protection afforded to the Western merchants around the Eastern Mediterranean also reveals the disparate responses to Genoese and Venetian trading practices from different host societies. In addition to Crusaders, missionaries, pilgrims and travellers, merchants were a constant presence around the Eastern Mediterranean. While some travelled seasonally, others stayed in the region for a longer period of time or even permanently, as attested by the request for the Venetian cemetery's enlargement in the Armenian kingdom. With the presence of these merchants, the issue of their rights in different societies was the subject of numerous negotiations and concessions issued by these Eastern Mediterranean rulers to Genoa and Venice between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. These concessions reflect different approaches by these rulers to protecting these Western merchants' rights in their respective territories, derived from different legal traditions. Moreover, it should be noted that the concessions obtained by the Western merchants did not always treat the merchants from the same city in the same way.

¹²⁸⁴ Cf. footnote 1128.

4 Conclusion: geography, institutions and the medieval Cilician economy

In this thesis, I have reviewed scholars' current understanding of Western merchants' activities in the medieval Cilician economy. Chapter One identified two major primary sources, namely the portolan charts depicting the Cilician coast and the concessional texts (charters) issued to Western merchants by Armenian kings. These two types of *carta* present two different challenges to uncover the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities in the kingdom and the ways in which the Armenian kings protected these merchants' rights. In the portolan charts, Mediterranean coastlines are the defining feature for displaying the importance of a place, coloured with either black or red ink. Interpreting such spatial data is different from interpreting narrative or other textual sources that revolve around individuals or events. In the Armenian concessions, jurisdictional aspects of merchants' rights are included along with clauses detailing regulated commodities or reductions in taxation or customs dues. Focusing on the nature of these rights is different from focusing on the commodities or taxation, which can be quantifiable.

These two types of primary sources are valuable because they represent two significant aspects of mercantile experience around the Mediterranean during the medieval period. Portolan charts were the result of knowledge transfer from the nautical experiences around the Eastern Mediterranean, by Crusaders, merchants, pilgrims and travellers, to the workshops around the Western Mediterranean. By contrast, the concessional texts from the Armenian kings were a set of textual evidence for issues that occurred when legal rights from different developing legal traditions came into contact. These issues arose because of the trading activities of Western merchants. On the basis of these two types of *carta*, I examined the

geographical extent of Western merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast in Chapter Two and the methods used by Armenian kings to regulate and protect merchants' rights in Chapter Three. Below, I will summarise briefly, in 4.1 and 4.2 respectively, my findings in Chapters Two and Three. In 4.3, I will discuss the significance of my findings for our current understanding of medieval Mediterranean trade, by reviewing selected synthetic works on trade across the medieval Mediterranean as well as around the Eastern Mediterranean.

4.1 The geography of the medieval Cilician economy

Ayacium¹²⁸⁵ was not the only coastal location where Western merchants were engaged in trade, despite abundant textual sources attesting its importance for Western merchants in Armenian Cilicia. Acknowledging the primacy of spatiality, rather than events or individuals, in the primary sources, I established in Chapter One a conceptual framework for collating data contained in the portolan charts. These charts indicate with two colours, black and red, the relative importance of a particular location. Based on my data collation, I discovered the increasing importance of Alexandretta, Palopoli and Tarsus during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²⁸⁵ Since this is a phenomenon not yet sufficiently supported by currently available archaeological data and medieval textual narrative sources, I examined the following two additional factors to determine the relative importance of all Cilician coastal locations between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, namely: accessibility of coastal places owing to their surrounding topography and the general importance of coastal features for sailing. With GIS modelling, I measured the extent to which

¹²⁸⁵ I will limit my discussion below to the case of Palopoli, because there is a lack of sufficient archaeological data for the case of Tarsus and Alexandretta, as shown in Chapter Two, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For a recent survey in the Hatay province, where Alexandretta is located, cf. footnotes 856 and 857.

topography influenced the geospatial organisation of local defences in Rough Cilicia in 1198 and found that topography was not the decisive factor for such a geospatial organisation.¹²⁸⁶ This is a significant finding, particularly for Palopoli in Rough Cilicia, one of the three Cilician locations which became more important during the medieval period. Hence, the increasing importance of Palopoli later was due not to its accessibility from other locations in Rough Cilicia, but to the changing human environment, such as built environment, economic activities or regional settlement patterns. To further test the validity of my findings from the portolan charts, I compared selected portolan handbooks produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These portolan handbooks are manuals for coastal sailing and frequently describe coastal topographical features that are important for sailing and taking a bearing, but are not identifiable with exact locations. I viewed all these descriptions of topographical features along the Cilician coast as annotations of the maritime landscape by merchants and sailors. I adopted the proposition that the greater the number of detailed descriptions of a coastline, the more important this coastline must have been for coastal sailing. In applying my method to historic characterisations of the landscape, I discovered that the annotations of Cilician maritime space along the Rough Cilician coast became more elaborate later in the fourteenth century, but did not centre on Palopoli. Thus, surrounding topography was not a decisive factor for the relative importance of coastal locations in medieval Cilicia and later portolan handbooks paid more attention to the Rough Cilician coast.

These two discoveries will hopefully provide a tentative basis for future archaeological data-collection. There are many difficulties for such data-collection for the medieval period, however, because the medieval layers of a settlement are

¹²⁸⁶ Cf. 2.7.4.2.

frequently rebuilt into pre-modern or modern structures or deteriorate more extensively than older layers through despoliation and exposure to the weather. Here, a systematic method of historic landscape characterisation will be of additional assistance: maps produced by the late Ottoman administration can be used to show the trajectory of modern urban development in selected areas and thus identify smaller and clearly demarcated areas of Rough Cilicia suitable for further investigation.¹²⁸⁷

Once an area is identified as suitable for survey, two limiting criteria should be adopted before employing such methods (as explained in Chapter Two) to investigate more accurately the changing importance of medieval Cilician coastal places. Firstly, the criteria to be used for identifying medieval settlements in Rough Cilicia will need to be taken into account. Since my GIS modelling focused on the impact of topography on baronial control patterns over Rough Cilician fortresses in 1198, the role of civilian settlements supplying these fortresses was not considered. Since topography has proved to have been a less significant influence on patterns of baronial control, the logical next step was to identify the importance and potential influence of these settlements themselves on the importance of Rough Cilician fortresses, including that of Palopoli. Although R. W. Edwards has remarked on symbiotic relationships between civilian settlements and fortresses, a typology of civilian settlements in Rough Cilicia is still needed in order to identify potential settlements in the targeted areas in medieval Rough Cilicia.¹²⁸⁸ Secondly, the significance of reverse direction of sailing, as identified in one selected portolan handbook, needs to be evaluated by examining more portolan handbooks from

¹²⁸⁷ Access to such maps is restricted, however, for visiting researchers to Turkey.

¹²⁸⁸ In the course of my research, I have been denied access by D. Vandekerckhove to his most recent research on settlements in medieval Cilicia. D. Vandekerckhove, "The origins, development, and spatial distribution of medieval fortifications and rural settlements in Cilicia 1075-1375" (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2014).

roughly the same period. The question to be answered by such an examination is whether the reverse sailing direction related to a particular Western Mediterranean cartographical tradition for collecting data or to a well-tried sailing routine along the Cilician coast. Such answers could provide a new basis for evaluating the significance of medieval portolan handbooks for sailors along the medieval Cilician coast.

Two other potential avenues of research can be pursued, based on my preliminary findings in Chapter Two. To illustrate such potential avenues, a useful contrast can firstly be drawn with the interdisciplinary, multi-period and multi-scalar Strymon Delta Project.¹²⁸⁹ The biggest difference between my research and the Strymon Delta Project, is the level of integration of various archaeological and textual data. My analyses are based solely on the interpretation of textual and visual sources. While the portolan charts and handbooks have provided new historical information for Alexandretta and Palopoli, my analyses still focused on the coastline. There are two avenues through which my analyses could be further developed and these two avenues do not conflict with the future direction of research discussed immediately above in this section. The first avenue of future research is to increase the temporal breadth for additional textual and visual materials regarding the Cilician coast. This wider temporal breadth proves useful in laying out diachronic toponymic developments between the Byzantine and Ottoman periods for the Strymon Delta Project.¹²⁹⁰ The second avenue of future research is to investigate the economic and trading activities during the medieval period in a smaller area encompassing both coastal and inland locations. Malmistra and Tarsus are locations reachable by small vessels through a river from the coast and both appeared consistently on the selected

¹²⁸⁹ For a brief description of this project, cf. 1.6.

¹²⁹⁰ A. Dunn, "Byzantine and Ottoman Maritime Traffic in the Estuary of the Strymon: Between Environment, State, and Market," in *Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. The Corfu Papers*, ed. J. Bintliff and H. Stöger (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 15-31.

portolan charts examined for my thesis.¹²⁹¹ These smaller study areas may provide different instances of economic developments being affected by the maritime traffic during the medieval period. If successful, these cases will inform my findings from the selected portolan charts and handbooks. In other words, these cases studies will contribute to my current analyses that are based on a macro-view of the coastal maritime connections along the whole Cilician coast.

My findings in Chapter Two indicate that the geographical extent of Western merchants' activities was more widespread than is indicated in medieval textual sources and currently available archaeological data. This wider geographical extent reinforces D. Jacoby's conclusion that Western merchants were engaged in trade elsewhere in the Armenian kingdom before the rise of Ayacium in the 1270s. It also points to the continuing geographical diffusion of Western merchants' activities in the kingdom after the rise of Ayacium. This geographical diffusion of merchants' activities necessitates a different approach to assessing protection received by Western merchants regarding their rights. Focusing on particular socio-economic contexts of Ayacium is no longer sufficient to address the issue of merchants' rights in the Armenian kingdom. While Ayacium is well-documented in medieval textual sources, possibly significant places elsewhere are not, especially Alexandretta and Palopoli. Armenian concessions issued to the Western merchants are thus a reliable source of information upon which to clarify this issue.

¹²⁹¹ Adana, further inland, also consistently appears on the selected portolan charts and was – and is still – located near a river.

4.2 Institutions in the medieval Cilician economy

Genoa and Venice, two Western Mediterranean cities that dominated the medieval Eastern Mediterranean trade, secured concessions from the Armenian kings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To protect their merchants in the kingdom, they negotiated for and obtained the kings' recognition of their rights. Such recognition can be seen in the enumeration of various rights and in specified channels of dispute settlement. These two issues were important for Western merchants. The enumerated rights identified particular issues for which the Western merchants needed the kings' guarantee or protection. A specified channel of dispute settlement clarified two issues: the scope of jurisdiction for a merchant community's administration of justice and an applicable source of law. I viewed these concessions as consisting of negotiated orders, because they were prescriptive norms with the effects of law, although not explicitly framed in legislation. This aspect of compromise in diplomatic negotiations before the issuance of Armenian concessions also enabled me to better assess the significance of Armenian concessions to Genoa and Venice.

In Chapter Three, I compared the Armenian concessions issued to Genoa and Venice and found that Armenian kings had adopted different approaches to protecting the rights of Genoese and Venetian merchants. The recognition of the Genoese merchants' court and customary practice, in dispensing justice, is a distinguishing feature absent from Armenian concessions conferred on Venice. The repetition among six of the seven concessional texts obtained by Venice, however, presents an obstacle to interpreting the significance of these contents, as well as their development over time. A. Sopracasa, who has produced the most recent edition of Armenian concessions to Venice, argues that Armenian concessions to Venice were a model that was later repeated and from which three separate preparatory documents departed in

contents.¹²⁹² I disagree with this interpretation and argue that these three preparatory documents reflected the actual issues raised and considered during the Armeno-Venetian negotiations. By examining their textual form, i.e., the manner and detail of their declaration, instruction or report, I have produced evidence to support my claim that these three preparatory documents are not comparable to those seven Armenian concessional texts issued to Venice.

All these ten Armenian concessional texts are related to Venetian merchants' rights in the kingdom and can thus be divided into two groups, based on such differences in their textual form and voice. The first group consists of seven texts in the form of declaration of orders addressed to the Venetian doge and community by successive Armenian kings. These seven texts differ from each other only in minor details, except the last one issued in 1333. The second group includes three preparatory documents which reflect the changing ranges of issues considered by the Armenian kings. I compared these three preparatory documents and found that Venice was concerned with different sets of issues before 1272, before 1321 and in 1333. In addition, I found that the Armenian kings, addressed by these three texts, responded to these requests presented by the Venetian emissaries. The Armenian kings' responses, however, are not reflected completely in the subsequent concessional texts issued after these three preparatory documents. In other words, the preparatory documents are not comparable in content to their respective and subsequent concessional text. This raises a question over the significance of the contents of these concessions. Uncertainties concerning the significance and outcomes of concessional texts obtained by Western merchants around the Eastern Mediterranean are not unique to Armenian concessions. In the case of Byzantine chrysobulls, Jacoby points to the gap

¹²⁹² Cf. footnotes 1190 and 1254.

between the intention of Byzantine emperors and their actual implementation by imperial officials.¹²⁹³ In the case of Armenian concessions, however, the level of repetition in concessional texts gives the impression that economic development in the Armenian kingdom remained static between 1201 and 1321. The effectiveness of these concessions and their relationship to the implementation of these and similar concessions to Venice by Armenian officials cannot therefore be determined with confidence. While I agree with Jacoby that implementation is the key aspect when evaluating the significance of concessions obtained by Western merchants,¹²⁹⁴ I also demonstrate that these three preparatory documents relating to Armeno-Venetian negotiations provide a tentative basis, at least, for assessing Armenian kings' approaches to protecting Venetian merchants' rights.

Concerning any future attempt to assess all the textual evidence resulting from the Armeno-Venetian as well as Armeno-Genoese relations, there are two limitations inherent in the methods employed in Chapter Three. The first is the limitation on identifying the intention of the speaker, i.e., the rulers making concessions, in the opening of the concessional texts.¹²⁹⁵ The second limitation concerns the different purposes or intended audience of various other textual sources concerning Armeno-Venetian relations during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These other textual sources include orders from the Venetian government to overseas governors, records of deliberation and reports by the Venetian *baiulus* in the kingdom. All such textual evidence concerning Armeno-Venetian relations has been compiled and published by

¹²⁹³ D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 24 (1994): 355.

¹²⁹⁴ Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," 363.

¹²⁹⁵ Cf. my discussion immediately after Table 3-3.

L. M. Alishan.¹²⁹⁶ Such a variety of textual sources, however, does not address directly the intentions of the Armenian kings with respect to their concessions to Venice. The three preparatory documents examined in Chapter Three provide the closest textual evidence in which the intention of the Armenian kings can be recognised. To my knowledge, there are no such preparatory documents extant that relate to Armenian concessions issued to Genoa. Hence my evaluation of the approach of the Armenian kings to Genoese merchants' rights was restricted to consideration of three extant concessional texts issued to Genoa in the thirteenth century.

One other potential avenue of research is the significance of court and customary practice in the Armenian legal tradition. There are at least three concessional texts issued to the Western merchants where the original texts in Armenian are preserved.¹²⁹⁷ These texts in Armenian are unlikely to reveal much about the intention of the Armenian kings regarding particular concessions regulating Western merchants' rights. As I have already demonstrated in Chapter Three, there is no close correlation between the opening of a concessional text, (in which the Armenian kings staked out their rationale for granting concessions) and the guarantees given. In addition, the contents of the concessions cannot reliably be used to prove intent. In contrast, identifying the legal significance of the two terms 'court' and 'customary practice' for the Armenian kingdom is feasible, because of two legal compilations contemporaneous to this period. These two compilations are those of Mxit'ar Goš in the twelfth century¹²⁹⁸ and those of Smbat the Constable in the

¹²⁹⁶ L. M. Alishan, *L'Armeno-Veneto: Compendio Storico e Documenti delle Relazioni degli Armeni coi Veneziani. Primo Periodo, Secoli XIII-XIV*. 2 Pts. (Venice: Stab. Tip. Armeno, S. Lazzaro, 1893).

¹²⁹⁷ These texts include the one obtained by Genoa in 1288, whose Latin version was analysed in 3.1.

¹²⁹⁸ R. W. Thomson, trans., *The Lawcode [Datastanagirk'] of Mxit'ar Goš* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

thirteenth century.¹²⁹⁹ The relevance of these compilations to Armenian merchants or Western merchants will first need to be identified. In Chapter Three, canonical legal traditions of the Byzantine empire were shown to be potentially relevant to our interpretations of Byzantine emperors' chrysobulls to Western merchants, because there were instances of ecclesiastical courts handling lawsuits not related to clerics. Because of the prescriptive nature of these two legal compilations, it is unlikely that one can attribute any actual merchants' trading activities to the effects of particular clauses in these compilations. Such a comparative analysis, however, will show the legal status of the Western merchants within Armenian society, in comparison with that of Armenian merchants and other non-Armenian population. I have provided a basis for this task in Chapter Three by identifying the actual Venetian merchants' rights protected by Armenian kings in the kingdom before 1272, before 1321 and in 1333.¹³⁰⁰ The Genoese merchants' rights protected by Armenian kings were less numerous, but provide instances of ownership of immoveable properties in Tarsus¹³⁰¹ and exemplify instances of immoveable properties being acquired through marriage with an Armenian woman.¹³⁰²

I have in Chapter Two demonstrated the wider geographical scope of Western merchants' activities in medieval Cilicia than what has been depicted in primary textual sources and have in Chapter Three identified specific merchants' rights that were protected by the Armenian kings outside the well-documented area of Ayacium. These findings contribute to our current understanding of medieval economic history of the Mediterranean in general and that of the Eastern Mediterranean in particular. I

¹²⁹⁹ J. Karst, ed. & trans., *Armenisches Rechtsbuch*. Erster Band. *Sempadscher Kodex aus dem 13. Jahrhundert oder Mittelarmenisches Rechtsbuch, nach der Venediger und der Etschmiadziner Version unter Zurückführung auf seine Quellen* (Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1905).

¹³⁰⁰ Cf. 3.4.1, 3.4.2 and 3.4.3.

¹³⁰¹ Cf. 6.3.

¹³⁰² Cf. 6.8.

will articulate below the significance of my findings by discussing synthetic works that focus on both long-distance trade across the Mediterranean and intra-regional trade within the area comprising Cilicia, Cyprus and Syria.

4.3 Medieval Cilicia as part of the Mediterranean trade network

Of extant Genoese notarial deeds from Famagusta, relating to trading activities in Cilicia between 1270 and 1320, almost a third of the total sum recorded was for grain.¹³⁰³ The countries of origin of those grain imports into the kingdom of Armenia included Cyprus, southern Italy,¹³⁰⁴ and the Black Sea region.¹³⁰⁵ While the need for imported grain was the result of devastation in Cilicia caused by the Mamluk invasion at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries,¹³⁰⁶ such diverse sources of imported grain imply substantial integration of the Cilician economy in Mediterranean trade networks. These notarial deeds also record instances where the Cilician economy is shown to be interacting with merchants' activities based in Cyprus. Tarsus and *Pals* are also mentioned.¹³⁰⁷ In addition, there are

¹³⁰³ C. Otten-Froux, "Les relations économiques entre Chypre et le royaume arménien de Cilicie d'après les actes notariés (1270-1320)," in *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et Culture* (Paris: Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines, 1996), paragraph 19, accessed 24 October 2017, <http://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/1812>.

¹³⁰⁴ R. S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 2. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. M. Postan, E. Miller and C. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 358.

¹³⁰⁵ N. Coureas, "Genoese Merchants and the Export of Grain from Cyprus of [sic] Cilician Armenia: 1300-1310," *Hask Hayakidagan* 11 (2007-2008): 319-338. Because it was published in a journal in Armenian, I cited the contents and page numbers [i.e., 1-21] of the same work in English uploaded by the author on the following webpage (Pers. comm. 17 July 2017): http://www.academia.edu/24520945/GENOESE_MERCHANTS_AND_THE_EXPORT_OF_GRAIN_FROM_CYPRUS..._NICHOLAS_COUREAS_GENOESE_MERCHANTS_AND_THE_EXPORT_OF_GRAIN_FROM_CYPRUS_OF_CILICIAN_ARMENIA_1300-1310. Coureas, "Genoese Merchants and the Export of Grain," 9.

¹³⁰⁶ Coureas, "Genoese Merchants and the Export of Grain," 19.

¹³⁰⁷ Coureas, "Genoese Merchants and the Export of Grain," 1-2.

notarial deeds indicating Western merchants' activity at Curcus in 1373.¹³⁰⁸ There is, moreover, indirect evidence in such notarial deeds of trading activities outside the urban centres between Ayacium and Tarsus, although the type of trading involved was not specified.¹³⁰⁹ My discovery of the wider geographical extent of Western merchants' activities indicates two other potential Cilician centres of trade: Alexandretta and Palopoli. However, because of the period covered by my selected portolan charts (between 1313 and 1480) in Chapter Two, these additional centres of Western merchants' activities along the medieval Cilician coast may well reflect situations after the disappearance of the Armenian kingdom in 1375. My discoveries in Chapter Two nevertheless indicate continuing diffusion of trading activities undertaken by Western merchants in the Cilician region during the later period. Further textual evidence regarding economic activities along the Cilician coast can also be found in the Hospitallers' archives during the fifteenth century,¹³¹⁰ although such textual evidence falls outside the scope of my thesis.

An observation made by Jacoby indicates that people involved in Venetian merchants' activities in Cilicia also included local agents, who were probably local inhabitants that obtained Venetian status in the kingdom.¹³¹¹ My examination in Chapter Three of Genoese and Venetian merchants' rights in the kingdom illustrated a variety of legal rights granted to Western merchants by rulers of the same kingdom. In some cases, merchants from the same cities were granted different legal status for the

¹³⁰⁸ M. Balard, L. Balletto, and C. Schabel, eds., *Gênes et l'Outre-mer: Actes Notariés de Famagouste et d'Autres Localités du Proche-Orient (XIVe-XVe S.)* (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2013), 103-106. Both deeds are related to the will of a Genoese merchant Seguranus Marocelus.

¹³⁰⁹ Cited from: Coureas, "Genoese Merchants and the Export of Grain," 2, 5 and 7-8.

¹³¹⁰ K. Borchardt, A. Luttrell, and E. Schöffler, eds., *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409-1459* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2011).

¹³¹¹ Cf. footnote 151 and related discussions in 3.4.3.

purpose of privileges.¹³¹² These two phenomena, geographical diffusion in the Armenian kingdom and the heterogeneity in legal status of merchants from the same city, are not only missing in discussions on regional economic history for the Eastern Mediterranean, as seen above, but are also not found in general discussions of medieval trade across the Mediterranean.

In his survey of medieval economic history around the Mediterranean between the fall of Rome in 476 and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, Lopez focuses on merchants around the Western Mediterranean. He specifies three features of trading activities during this period that are relevant to my findings: local trade, overseas trade and overland trade.¹³¹³ Because medieval Cilicia is situated between the overland routes to Iran and Central Asia on the one hand and the Eastern Mediterranean on the other,¹³¹⁴ the overland and overseas traffic through Cilicia is well-documented in textual sources during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³¹⁵ Local trade within the kingdom, however, is less evident in the textual sources. There is archaeological evidence for local trade exemplified by pottery production for a home market, e.g., around the eastern Plain Cilicia during the thirteenth century.¹³¹⁶ However, the underlying dynamics for this home market are not clear.

While Lopez also notes economic developments around the Eastern Mediterranean and the presence around the Western Mediterranean of merchants from the Eastern Mediterranean,¹³¹⁷ he views them merely as a source of different business

¹³¹² Cf. 3.5.

¹³¹³ Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," 333.

¹³¹⁴ Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," 352.

¹³¹⁵ E.g., Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936), 28-29; H. Yule, trans., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1871), 41-43.

¹³¹⁶ S. Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: a preliminary report," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 38 (2001): 71.

¹³¹⁷ Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South," 314 and 320-321.

practices.¹³¹⁸ His particular perspective upon the merchants from around the Western Mediterranean is exemplified by his observation on the emergence of a ‘Catholic Europe’ in the ninth and tenth centuries, which he regards as a new economic unit around the Mediterranean.¹³¹⁹ This claim in respect of an ‘economic unit’ was later substantiated by the influential role played by the papacy in setting norms of trading in the Eastern Mediterranean. Not surprisingly, Lopez’s medieval history of trade across the Mediterranean focuses only on merchants from around the Western Mediterranean. This focus on Western Mediterranean merchants is justifiable in a general history, because of the extensive trading networks around the Mediterranean maintained by Genoa, Pisa and Venice during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³²⁰ In some cases, the trading outpost of a city may be handling a larger volume of trade than the outpost’s host society: Genoese Pera, to the north of Constantinople, handled a volume of trade around fifteen times greater than that of Constantinople in the early fourteenth century.¹³²¹ There are even cases of Genoese outposts handling trade whose value was close to that of the trade of Genoa itself.¹³²² Compared with networks of trading outposts centred around cities in Italy and other well-developed outposts, Cilicia is on the margin and textual evidence produced in the Western Mediterranean region tends to omit places of secondary importance.

However, I argue that if we focus on the legal status of a merchant in a host society we can avoid excluding merchants from around the Eastern Mediterranean and thus accord them their appropriate position in a general history of medieval Mediterranean trade. In other words, it is not chronological scope that contributes to

¹³¹⁸ Lopez, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,” 307.

¹³¹⁹ Lopez, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,” 322-323.

¹³²⁰ Lopez, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,” 347.

¹³²¹ Lopez, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,” 351.

¹³²² Lopez, “The Trade of Medieval Europe: the South,” 355.

the limits of Lopez's survey, but his focus on the geographical origins of the merchants there identified. Catholic Europe is still a viable unit of analysis because of its role in setting the overarching legal framework for trading activities. Focusing on the legal status of individual merchants outside their home cities, however, brings into greater prominence the heterogeneity of the legal environments affecting the trading activities. A medieval trade history of the Mediterranean, by definition, focuses on trading activities involving individuals and goods from different places of origin across the Mediterranean. Trading activities in many cases transcend legal and political boundaries and in the process of trading, the legal status and rights of a merchant can be especially relevant when a dispute arises. A merchant's place of origin was important when his mercantile rights and privileges were determined in the host society. As shown in my analysis in Chapter Three, merchants from the same city did not always receive identical protection, even from the same ruler.¹³²³ Besides the examples from the Armenian kingdom and principality of Antioch, distinctions among merchants from the same city, based instead on the length of the merchants' stay, can be found in an earlier decree by the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, before 1171.¹³²⁴ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there are cases of Byzantines, Genoese, Turks and Venetians participating in trading activities across both territories controlled by the Byzantines and by the Ottomans.¹³²⁵ These trading activities transcending political boundaries brought together individuals whose legal rights were different depending on their current location. The implications of differing legal rights enjoyed by the same individual in commercial transactions at different locations are

¹³²³ Cf. 3.5.

¹³²⁴ A. Meineke, ed., *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis Gestarum* (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1836), 280-286.

¹³²⁵ K.-P. Matschke, "Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Vol. 2, ed. A. E. Laiou et al. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 784-786.

not considered or addressed in Lopez's survey referred to above.¹³²⁶ The legal status of an individual engaged in trade and the same individual's rights as recognised by a host society, are two distinct features that can significantly enlarge the scope of a general medieval history of Mediterranean trade. This shift in focus from the geographical origins of Western merchants to the rights accorded to the same merchants' activities in a different host society also provides a perspective on Levantine trade that does not necessarily centre on Genoa, Pisa or Venice, an issue identified by J. Prawer.¹³²⁷ Due to the larger amount of available textual evidence produced by Western merchants beginning from the twelfth century, such an enlarged history of medieval Mediterranean trade will inevitably focus on merchants from around the Eastern Mediterranean, who were also directly and actively involved in trading activities alongside Western merchants. This will, accordingly, provide a more balanced picture, because examination of the legal standing of relevant individuals in a business transaction will also reveal the adaptation of business practices by Western Mediterranean merchants operating in differing socio-economic and political conditions around the Eastern Mediterranean.

Instead of restricting myself to a micro-study of the medieval Mediterranean trade and economy, my findings based on evaluating portolan charts and Armenian concessional texts make two contributions.

First, I have demonstrated the usefulness of portolan charts and handbooks for places that are not well-documented in primary textual sources. While currently available archaeological data and primary textual narrative sources are insufficient for

¹³²⁶ Cf. footnotes 1317 and 1318.

¹³²⁷ J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 217.

assessing the significance of these sailing maps and instructions regarding Cilicia, there may already be sufficient archaeological data for civilian settlements in other regions of the Mediterranean, which in some cases have already led to new discoveries.¹³²⁸

Second, I have further shown the importance of considering the textual forms in which concessions are presented by rulers around the Eastern Mediterranean before evaluating the significance of their contents. Armenian concessions obtained by Genoa and Venice are comparable with those obtained by the same cities from the Byzantine empire, the Crusader kingdoms, the Mamluks and numerous kings and rulers elsewhere around the Mediterranean. My approach in identifying actual Western merchants' rights as protected by Armenian kings can ensure that similar concessions from elsewhere around the Mediterranean reflect what was actually granted to the Western merchants.

Underpinning my analyses in previous chapters is the hierarchisation of evidence, as explained by G. Salmeri and A. L. D'Agata.¹³²⁹ I examined the relevant primary sources, without first fitting them into political narratives found in other textual sources. I discovered that the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia was even more thoroughly integrated into Mediterranean trade as a whole, by virtue of its various coastal locations, than what has already been established based on well-documented instances in Ayacium. My work here also establishes convincingly that Genoese and Venetian merchants enjoyed different ranges of rights within the Armenian kingdom during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

¹³²⁸ Cf. 1.6.

¹³²⁹ Cf. footnote 448.

5 Bibliography

I divided this bibliography into three sections: primary sources (5.1), archaeological sources (5.2) and secondary sources (5.3). The section on primary sources includes textual evidence from before 1600 AD, either in the form of a critical edition, compilation of excerpts related to a theme or a text in translation. The section on archaeological sources includes all work resulting directly from archaeologists' activities that yielded data on traces of human activities discovered in a landscape or underwater. Such work includes all those in the form of survey, excavation report or travellers' accounts that subsequently became the foundation of archaeological activities and research. I have also included works on epigraphy, numismatics and sigillography even though such research involves historical interpretation. Works that utilise geographic information science modelling or that produced a synthetic assessment based on the relationship between traces of human activities and the environment are also included. I excluded those works that belong to the discipline of human geography, however, as well as introduction to methods used in archaeological research.¹³³⁰ All others, not belonging to the sections primary sources and archaeological sources, are included under the section for secondary sources.

¹³³⁰ For example, J. Conolly and M. Lake, *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) or J. Kantner, "The archaeology of regions: From discrete analytical toolkit to ubiquitous spatial perspective," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 16, no. 1 (2008): 37-81.

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¹³³² I have included this bibliographical reference to alert my readers to such a work, while I had been denied access by its author in the course of my research. Cf. footnote 1288.

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6 Appendix for Chapter Three

I have included in this appendix all the concessional texts issued by the Armenian kings in Cilicia to Genoa and Venice, in addition to three texts that are related to Armeno-Venetian relations, i.e., 6.6, 6.12 and 6.14. My translation is provisional as I only aim to illustrate my arguments in Chapter Three, not to produce a definitive translation of these texts.

The lexica I have relied on for translating these Latin texts in this Appendix include: that of W. H. Maigne d'Arnis,¹³³³ J. F. Niermeyer,¹³³⁴ and C. Du F. Du Cange, P. Carpenter and G. A. L. Henschel¹³³⁵ For the text in Venetian, i.e., 6.6, I made use of the dictionary by G. Boério¹³³⁶ and M. Cortelazzo.¹³³⁷ For those Armenian concessions obtained by Venice, A. Sopracasa supplies Italian translation for some words in the index of his more recent edition.¹³³⁸

Various features, such as names of merchandise, flexible syntax and particular usages in Latin texts during the medieval period, present considerable challenges.¹³³⁹ Except those Latin texts containing repetitive contents, i.e., 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.7, 6.11 and 6.13, I have relied on, in the first instance, syntax and consequently produced translation in English with words

¹³³³ W. H. Maigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis: In Compendium Accuratissime Redactum, ou, Recueil de Mots de la Basse Latinité Dressé pour Servir à l'Intelligence des Auteurs, soit Sacrés, soit Profanes, du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Garnier et Migne, 1890).

¹³³⁴ J. F. Niermeyer, comp., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: A Medieval Latin-French/English Dictionary* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

¹³³⁵ C. Du F. Du Cange, P. Carpenter, and G. A. L. Henschel, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*. 10 vols. (Nort: L. Favre, 1883-1887).

¹³³⁶ G. Boério, ed., *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano* (Venice: G. Cecchini, 1867).

¹³³⁷ M. Cortelazzo, *Dizionario Veneziano della Lingua e della Cultura Popolare nel XVI Secolo* (Limena: La Linea, 2007). I am grateful for A. Sopracasa's suggestion regarding these two lexica for translating this Venetian text. Pers. comm. 9 August 2017.

¹³³⁸ A. Sopracasa, ed., *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia, 1201-1333* (Rome: Viella, 2001), 119-126.

¹³³⁹ Commenting on medieval notarial deeds, J. Prawer describes some writings as 'barbarous' and 'disastrous' Latin. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 220. I do not agree with such a particular assessment as the writings in question are not rhetorical or philosophical works, but contracts. Interpreting them may be challenging, nonetheless, if there is confusion in conjugation of verbs, declination of nouns or syntax. I have also retained some apparent errors made by scribes, e.g. that found in footnote 280, as found in the critical edition of medieval Latin texts, because the correct usage of the Latin language found in these medieval Latin texts is not my focus.

in the order of that in the original text. In the case of a Latin text composed with incorrect grammar, i.e., 6.8,¹³⁴⁰ I produced translation based on the Latin syntax. For words or expressions that are not possible to render into English, I have kept them in italics.

For consistency, I follow the format of the edited text, including punctuation, indentation and division of paragraphs. For place-names found in the Latin texts, I used the same form I have used in my thesis; for those is French and Venetian texts, I preserved the spelling of these names found in the edited texts. I also consistently used ‘emissary’, instead of ‘ambassador’, to include a wider range of such functionaries.

As these texts describe what privileges or exemptions were to be given to the Genoese and Venetians, the subjunctive mood is commonly used in such stipulations. Since these descriptions are oftentimes conditional or concern hypothetical circumstances, I used the present tense for most of them, with ‘if’ to indicate the conditional or hypothetical nature of the statement in question.

¹³⁴⁰ “Il testo è poco corretto grammaticalmente.” E. Pallavicino, ed., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/7 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 2001), 75.

6.1 Concessions to Genoa, 1201

Privilege of king of Armenians.

[sign of a cross] In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen. It should be known to all people to both [those] in the future and in the present that I Leo, by the grace of God king of Armenians, son of Stephanus and from the powerful descent of the Rupinus, after with divine forbearance I was promoted to royal authority and elevated to royal crown by the hand of the Roman authority, lending a ear to and recognising from the narration as of many of my envoys going and returning through different parts of the world as they convey the esteem and good will of the most noble and honest man of Genoa to our royal highness and because it is from kingly custom to reply for the honour, I proposed to the Genoese in my heart to make good because of their own good reputation and generosity and honour bestowed on me and my envoys by them. Whence to you Ogerius de Pallo, citizen of Genoa, on behalf of the Genoese coming before my royal majesty and my royal court and requesting affection, honour and freedom in my realm, I grant and permit, with approval of my royal court, freedom of going and returning through land and through sea and of buying, of entering and exiting from port. I permit also and will that all Genoese with their possessions and merchandise through all of my realm, in cities, in estates in all of my land which I have now and which God assisting I shall acquire and in all the land of my barons should be safe and secure from all the people who are and who will be under my power and rule, they should go and return and sell and buy freely, peacefully, without all the opposition and servitude, without all the due, without all the negotiation and without all the exaction or service of tributary charge. I permit furthermore and will in order that if it should happen [that] Genoese ships, God forbid, to be in danger or wrecked anywhere now on the shores of my realm, their person, possessions and merchandise should be saved and secured by all the

people who are and who will be under my power and rule and they should return the ownership to the Genoese without all the pretext or opposition. And if by chance it happens [that] ships of other peoples to be wrecked or in danger on the shores of my realm in which some Genoese is with his merchandise, possessions and merchandise that lawfully to be his or he is able to prove [to be] of the Genoese should be saved and secured and they should return to his ownership without all the pretext and opposition. I grant therefore and permit to the requesting Genoese in my royal city Sis land and site to build [a] church and build [a] *fundum*¹³⁴¹ and houses and a court and in city Malmistra a built church, site and land to build [a] *fundum*, houses and a court, similarly in city of Tarsus a built church, site and land to build [a] *fundum* and houses and a court and they should have a court in all my land which thenceforth will come under my authority and which God allowing I shall acquire and if any complaint is made against some Genoese, the accused should seek justice in the Genoese court. And if the Genoese make complaint concerning whomever of another nation, the accused should seek justice in my royal court. I permit finally and will in order that if some malefactor comes into my land to testify or not to testify and pillages Genoese, before he escapes from my land from the complaining Genoese concerning the unjustly stolen I will make what is stolen to be restored by my power without any pretext. And the Genoese themselves should be held from the rest to me and my heirs to confer affection, to praise, to exalt and defend honour on behalf of their power our kingdom and our people through land and through sea in perpetuity at whichever place they hold power in good faith and without bad ingenuity. Towards the reason of great security and that the present privilege remain valid, steadfast and unshattered in eternity with my golden seal itself I made [it] to be safeguarded and reinforced and I ordered that Armenian and Latin letters to be written in the

¹³⁴¹ Because it is not clear in the Armenian concession which of four meanings suggested by J. Riley-Smith is applicable, I have kept the original word found in the Latin translation of the Armenian concessions. J. Riley-Smith, "Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants," in *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*, by J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), XI 115-116.

same charter, in addition with red letters I signed with my own hand. Given by the hand of Iohannes, the venerable archbishop of Sis, abbot of Three Citadels, legate and chancellor of the whole realm of Armenia, in the year of incarnate of the Word 1201, in the month of March.

(S.T.) I Atto Placentinus, notary of the sacred palace, this copy from the authentic and original instrument translated into Latin from another authentic writing that I believe [to be] Armenian letters in the same document of the king of Armenians, son of lord Stephanus, of the descent of the Rupinus, with the secured impression of his golden seal, in which there was from one part, engraved royal image with a crown on the head, holding in the right hand a cross, in the left holding a figure akin to flower lily and there are his letters that I believe [to be] the circumscribed Armenian of which I am ignorant, from the other part was a certain figure akin to a crowned lion holding a cross in paw, whose circumference just as I believe [to be] Armenian letters noted before, just as I saw and read in it I transcribed through all and copied, nothing [being] added or diminished in the speech of letters except by chance a letter or syllable, title or puncture and this without any mutation, corruption or diminution of composition or sense, to strengthen that, by order of the afore-written lord Iacobus de Balduino, *podestà* of the Genoese, I subscribed with my own hand. Red letters which the lord king said that he had signed above with his own hand were of this figure.

[sign of a cross] Λεο βασιλεως Αρμενιων 1342

¹³⁴² ‘Leo (in Greek) King of Armenians (in Armenian)’. V. Langlois, ed., *Le Trésor des Chartes d’Arménie* (Venice: Typographie arménienne de Saint-Lazare, 1863), 108.

6.2 Concessions to Venice, 1201

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. It should be known to all the people, present and in the future, that I Leo, the son of Stephanus, of the powerful house of the Rupinus, by the grace of God king of Armenians, both on behalf of all my heirs and successors and myself, I give and grant through privilege firm mandate henceforth perpetual to the noble Henricus Dandulo, illustrious doge of Venice, Dalmatia and Croatia and all Venetians, concerning this that he requests from me through Iacobus Badovarium, the son of knight Iohannes Badovarium, a provident and distinguished envoy and his fellow-citizen.

(1) Certainly, permission and security of going and returning in all my land and through all my land, which I have in [my] rule and which, God granting, I shall acquire. Therefore, out of my royal munificence, with their request, I give and grant in full to them and all their successors and all Venetians, with its affection and honour of all Venetians, as are countenanced in the present privilege, freedom through land, through sea, in cities, in ports, on bridges, of going and returning with whatever merchandise and of entering and exiting with whatever merchandise.

(2) And they should have full power of selling and buying whichever merchandises through all my land and of exporting from all my land in safety, securely, freely, peacefully, without all the service, without all the due, without all the obligation, without all the toll; except those Venetians always living in parts of this side of the sea¹³⁴³ and who will have crossed Portella, should be held there to pay due, as it is customary to pay by all the Christians crossing and returning. And except that all Venetians who should have brought gold and silver, *bisancios* or coins, thereupon [unless] they should have made or worked in my land, these are to be held to pay the due, just as those who produced *bisancios* or coins in parts of Acre pay. But if

¹³⁴³ 'In cismarinis partibus'. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 183.

they have not produced the *bisancios* or coins, they should by no means held to pay the due. Their bodies, properties and merchandise of the Venetians should be in safety and secure from all the people who are and who will be under my power and my dominion.

(3) I grant furthermore and will in order that, if whichever vessel of the Venetians should have shipwrecked or broken on all the shore of my kingdom, all those, who have escaped from that danger, should be in safety and secure: their bodies, properties and merchandises should be in safety, secure and free from all the people, who are and who will be under my power and dominion; except that, if among them is one, who is not a Venetian, all his very properties should be subject to the power of my court. And if a ship or vessel of other peoples should be endangered or broken on all the shore of my kingdom and a Venetian is present among them, his properties and all his goods should be in safety, secure and free from all the people, who are and who will be under my power and my dominion.

(4) I grant in addition and will so that, if a certain Venetian merchant wishes to travel through my land into another land either of Christians or of the Saracens, where I hold peace and truce, without any opposition, he should go with whatever merchandise and return when he wishes; and if some damage should happen to the very journey to the Venetian traveller, to restore what has been taken away, I grant eagerness to pay attention as it were my very own.

(5) I grant therefore and will so that, if some Venetian were to be preoccupied with death in my land with some divine predestination and were to have made arrangement of his belongings, the very arrangement should be committed to the hands of Venetians or whomever and should he die, the very arrangement should be stable and firm; and if without arrangement made and he has died suddenly and a certain Venetian were to be present, properties and possessions of the dead should turn without any opposition into the hands of the very nearby Venetians, whoever he is. And if some Venetian is not present and with arrangement or without arrangement made he has died suddenly, all his possessions should,

without any opposition, turn to the hands of lord Iohannes, the venerable archbishop of Sis, illustrious chancellor of Armenia or his archbishopric successors; and he should [them] under custody for such days, until out of the mandate of the doge of Venice, Dalmatia and Croatia should he receive by letters, still sealed with his seal; to which he must recommend and affix it [the seal] or that regarding these it should be produced; and according to the contents of these very letters of the aforesaid doge, the instruction concerning the properties of the dead should be fulfilled without any opposition.

(6) Above all, I grant and will, in order that, if some contention or disagreement between Venetians should have arisen in my land, that it should be solved by the Venetians, if they are present; if they are absent, it should be solved in the presence of the aforesaid venerable archbishop or in the presence of his archbishopric successors, with the previous legal action. And if some deadly contention or disagreement between Venetians and whichever people should have arisen and the death of a man has occurred suddenly, it should be settled in my royal court through the opinion of a judge. And if some other contention or disagreement between Venetians and other people should have arisen, it should be settled similarly in my royal court through the opinion of tribunal. I shall observe and maintain every right of the Venetians as though it were my own and I shall ensure that full justice is afforded to them, from my men, their creditors.

(7) Finally, I grant and give, for the salvation of my soul and that of my predecessors, to the Venetians in the city Malmistra a church and provisions for the serving priest and clergyman of the church and a *fundus*¹³⁴⁴ for placing their possessions and merchandise and a site to build a house.

So that while the present privilege should remain firm and unshaken I have signed it with my very own hand with the red Armenian letters and I have made that to be reinforced and

¹³⁴⁴ Cf. footnote 1341.

strengthened with royal golden seal and to be confirmed with the approval of the subscribed witnesses. I grant and will so that every Venetian has the power of remaining in safety, secure, with all his possessions, as long as he wishes, in all my land and through all my land.

This privilege is produced and given by the hand of lord Iohannes, the venerable archbishop of Sis, the illustrious chancellor of Armenia, in the year of the incarnation of the lord 1201, in the month of December.¹³⁴⁵

¹³⁴⁵ The text stops here in the edition by Sopracasa, but there is an additional paragraph of authentication by a ducal notary in the edition by Langlois, which is not included in my translation here. Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 112; Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 30.

6.3 Concessions to Genoa, 1215

Privilege of king of Armenia.

[sign of a cross] In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen. It should be known to all people in the present as well as in the future that I Leo, by the grace of God king of Armenia, on behalf of myself and my successors to you Ugo Ferrario, *vicecomes* of the Genoese, in the name of the commune of the Genoese and to all the Genoese and to sons of the Genoese and to all those who are said Genoese I grant and permit in all my land which I currently hold or will hold a free court according to the manner and custom of Genoa in order that no Genoese or the son of a Genoese or some said Genoese should be held in other court except in the court of the Genoese concerning any incident except only to deal with offence of theft and murder. In addition I grant to you and permit in all my land which I currently hold or will hold liberty as well as unimpeded chance of buying, selling, going and coming both through the sea and through the land thus that whether of shipwreck or of sound without any due and without any toll you should be able to go, come, buy and sell in all my land both through the sea and through the land, yet except the land which lord Ottho de Thabaria currently has and holds and except the land that is called Corc which lord Vaharan the marshall has and holds and except the custom that lord Leo de Cabban holds at the river which is called Iahan. Nevertheless if some of such lands or the said custom return to my hand or to the hand of my successors on any occasion, I will and permit that you have the same freedom there which I gave and permitted to you in my other land. I grant in addition and permit to you Ugo Ferrario, *vicecomes* of the Genoese, in the name of the commune of the Genoese and to all the Genoese and to the sons of the Genoese and all those who are said Genoese one quarter in the city of Tarsus held and occupied with perpetual right freely and peacefully and one

church and land to construct and to build in it a bath and an oven and to plant a garden in it. In order that therefore this gift is just as said above that I gave and permitted to you in good spirit and good will on behalf of myself and my successors [it] should remain valid and eternal, I safeguard and confirm the present text with a red subscription made with my own hand and with my royal seal. It is made this year from the incarnation of the Lord 1215, in the month of March.

(S.T.) I Atto Placentinus, notary of the sacred palace, this copy from the authentic and original of lord Leo, king of Armenia, his golden seal safeguarded according to that he himself acknowledges above, having from one part the figure of a crowned lion engraved holding a cross in paw, whose circumscription was that I believe [to be] Armenian letters, of which both the form and sense I do not know, from other [part] was an engraved royal crowned image sitting on the throne which had in the right hand a certain globe with a cross, had in the left hand a figure akin to flower lily and were circumscribed just as I believe Armenian letter which I said I do not know by all means, just as I saw and read in it I transcribed through all and copied, nothing [being] added or diminished in the speech of letters except by chance a letter or syllable, title or puncture and this without any mutation, corruption or diminution of letters or sense, to corroborate which, I subscribed with my own hand. And lest anything is claimed concerning the red subscription which the aforesaid lord king says [was] made with his own hand in it that is not in this copy, know he that I did not make it here for that reason because it was not under the authentic Latin [text] although the mention thence happens in it, but was under the authentic Armenian [text] from which the authentic Latin [text] was translated equally in the same document.

6.4 Concessions to Venice, 1245

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. It should be known to all present and in the future, that I Hetom, by the grace of God king of Armenia, son of the nobleman Constantinus and I Elysabeth, daughter of Leo, formerly king of Armenia, of the powerful family of the Rupinus and queen, wife of the aforesaid king Hetom, both on behalf of all our heirs and successors and of ourselves, give our worthy and firm privilege to the sage and amiable community of Venetians, just as the illustrious doge of Venice, Dalmatia and Croatia, lord Iacobus Teupulo, sending toward us requested through the distinguished and noble man Petrus Dandulo, his fellow-citizen, so that they should have permission and security of going and returning through all our land, just as they had the privilege regarding this from our predecessor and our part, king Leo, which they pointed out to us.

(1) And we confirmed, towards their request, the aforesaid privilege and we gave our [privilege to] all Venetians, who are and who will be in the future, that all merchants and all men of Venice, who are beyond and on the other side of the sea and come into our land, should be in safety without fear from us and all our people at all places which are or will be under our dominion, both their persons and properties and all their possessions, going and returning, selling and buying, without due. They should have freedom in ports, in the cities, on the bridges, in the ports, on departure and at all places: except that the Venetian inhabitants always in parts of this side of the sea, if they cross Portella, should be held there to pay due, just as it is the customary practice of the place. And except that all Venetians who should have carried gold and silver and produced *bisancios* or coins thereupon, should be held to pay due just as those pay who produce *bisancios* or coins in parts of Acre. But if they have not produced *bisancios* or coins, they should by no means be held to pay due.

(2) If, moreover, a vessel of the Venetians should wreck in all or land or in the sea, whatever escapes from the sea, whether man or properties or ship, will be in safety and without fear from us and from all our subordinates. If however a ship of the Venetians should wreck and men of another nation are on it, they will be under our command. And if a ship of another nation should wreck and any of Venetians is on it, the Venetian will be free and in safety with all his properties; the ship however with other people will come under our command. The same Venetians however will not keep the properties or ships of other men in their custody, so that they should release them as theirs.

(3) That if any one of the Venetians wishes to cross our land into another land, of Christians or of the Saracens, where we hold peace and truce, he should go without any opposition with whatever merchandise when he wishes and to return. And if any loss should occur in the very journey to the Venetian traveller, we will pay attention and [make] efforts as if it were our very own to restore what has been taken away.

(4) And if a Venetian dies in our land and he has made arrangement of his possessions, the arrangement should be committed to hands Venetians or whomever and he should have died, the same arrangement should be stable and firm. And if he dies suddenly without arrangement made and some Venetian merchant is present, properties and possessions of the dead turn without any contradiction to the very Venetian nearby. And if there is no Venetian present and he dies with the arrangement or without arrangement made, all his possessions turn to our hands into custody, until we have letters of doge of the Venetians or of baiulus who takes charge in Acre from his mandate, either of those sealed with seal; and according to the contents of the very letters of the aforesaid doge or baiulus, the instruction concerning the properties of the dead should be fulfilled without any opposition.

(5) If, moreover, two or many of the Venetians have contention or disagreement among themselves in our land, we will appoint someone honest and distinguished from the same

Venetians, by whom the contention is examined and the agreement among them should be restored. That if some contention between the Armenians and the Venetians arises and a man is killed, it should be settled in our royal court through opinion of tribunal. With, however, a disagreement appearing among the Venetians, [from whom] who could not restore agreement among them, [the agreement] should be restored by the opinion of the archbishop of Sis. And if a Venetian has some contention with men of another nation, it should be settled in the royal court through the opinion of tribunal.

(6) We permit, furthermore and give to these very Venetians a church and a house in the city of Malmistra and a place for house and provision for the priest and clergyman, who will serve the church, in the memory of our predecessors.

In order that moreover the present privilege should remain firm and unshaken, we have signed that with our own hand with red Armenian letters and we cause that to be strengthened and reinforced with royal golden seal.

This privilege is made by the hand of Gregorius, priest and chancellor, in the year of incarnation of Lord 1245, in the month of March.

6.5 Concessions to Venice, 1261

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. It should be known to all both present and in the future that we Heton, faithful in Lord Jesus Christ king of Armenia, son of Constantinus, noble of nobles and guardian of royal crown, just as it is custom of the faithful kings and of the believers in Lord Jesus Christ, to honour and graciously bestow upon both relatives and all foreigners in the whole world, we gave and granted our most precious and firm privilege to the respected and amiable commune of the Venetians according to the request of the illustrious and venerable lord Raynerius Geno, doge of Venice, Dalmatia and Croatia, through the hand of the noble and sage lord Iohannes Geno, envoy of the aforesaid lord doge, in order that they have the full permission and power and security of going and returning through all our land, just as they had the privilege regarding this from our predecessor and our father king Leo that they showed us.

(1) And we confirmed according to their request our aforesaid privilege and we gave to all the very Venetians who are and who will be, that all the merchants and all men of Venice who are beyond and on the other side of the sea and come into our land, they should be in safety and secure and without fear from us and all our people at all places which are or which will be under our dominion, both their persons and their properties and all their possessions going, remaining, returning, selling and buying without paying any due. They should, moreover, have the freedom in ports, in cities, on the bridges, on departure and at all places, except that all the Venetian inhabitants always in parts of this side of the sea, if they cross Portella, they should be held to pay due as it is the customary practice of the place. And except that all the Venetians who carry gold and silver and they thereupon produce *bisancios* and coin, should be held to pay due just as those who produce *bisancios* and coin in parts of

Acre pay. [Those] who, if not producing *bisancios* or coin thereupon, should by no means be held to pay due.

(2) If, moreover, a vessel of the Venetians should wreck in all our land, on river banks or in the sea, whoever escapes from the sea, whether a man or properties or a ship, they will be in safety and without fear from us and from all our subordinates; and if men of another nation are in the same ship, they will be subject to our command. If a ship of another nation should wreck and some Venetian is on it, the Venetian will be free and in safety with all his properties, the ship moreover with all other people will be under our command; and these same Venetians will not hold properties of other people or ships in their custody so that they should release them as theirs.

(3) That if someone of the Venetians wishes to cross our land into another land, whether of Christians or of the Saracens where we hold peace and truce, he should go whenever he wishes and return with all his merchandise without any opposition; and if any loss should have occurred in the very journey to the Venetian traveller, we will pay attention and take pains, as if they were our own, to restore what has been taken away.

(4) And if a Venetian dies in our land and he has made arrangement of his possessions, the arrangement should be placed in hands of a Venetian or whomever, that arrangement should be stable and firm; and if he dies without arrangement and some Venetian is present, properties and possessions of the dead should turn to the hands of a Venetian nearby without any opposition. And if some Venetian is not present there and he dies with arrangement or without arrangement, all his possessions should turn to our hands and into our custody, until we have letters of the lord doge of the Venetians or of the baiulus who will be in Acre, which should be sealed with seal either of these [letters]; and according to the contents of those letters of the said lord doge or baiulus, the instruction regarding the properties of the dead should be fulfilled without any opposition.

(5) If, moreover, two or more of the Venetians should have contention or disagreement between them in our land, we will appoint someone honest and distinguished from the same Venetians, by whom the disagreement is examined and agreement among them should be restored. That if some contention between the Armenians and the Venetians should have occurred and a man is killed, it should be settled in our royal court through the opinion of tribunal. With, however, a disagreement appearing among the Venetians, [from whom none] could restore agreement among them, [the agreement] should be restored by the opinion of the qualified archbishop. And if a Venetian has some contention with men of another nation, it should be settled in our royal court through the opinion of tribunal.

(6) We permit, furthermore, and give to these very Venetians in the city of Sis a church and a house and a place for the house and provision on for the priest and clergyman who will serve the church in memory of our predecessors and at Ayacium we will give them a place to build a house.

In order that moreover the present privilege should remain firm and unshattered we sign that with our very own hand, as it is the custom, with red letters that and we made that to be strengthened and reinforced with royal golden seal.

This privilege is produced by the hand of Toros, chancellor, in the year 710 of the invention of the Armenian letters, in the month of November.

6.6 Report from Armenia to Venice, [1270-1272]

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.

Writing sent from Armenia concerning the accord made with the king.

This is the order: the doge of Venice, the great and honourable and wise, lover of us and of our realm. Lord Thomas Bondumi comes as an ambassador to us and takes his message and our response is this way as it is written below.

(1) That it provides for [any] Venetian that will be in Laiaçã, that he is able to have our assistance and our advice at the vicar of Anthioça or at the archbishop of Malmistra. That it provides for [that] he will be able to have authority to baptise the Venetians, to confess and to give communion and to marry, to bury. We *protemo* thus, that we will write our letter to the abovementioned, the vicar or the archbishop and we will thus assist them, as much as we will be able to, that this *consa* will be fulfilled.

(2) Also requested that the business of Sisa must come to Laiaçã, we *protemo*: that when the baiulus arrives in Laiaçã, we will command that the business comes to Laiaçã.

(3) Also requested from us that the Venetians be held [i.e., regarded] honourably and the men of *pesedonio* to weigh and other officials, that he must not make increase and we command that it be done thus.

(4) Also requested from us, that [when] a Venetian man dies in our realm, his possessions are given to the baiulus and if the baiulus is not in this land and the baiulus at Acre sends his message, that all these possessions are sent to him or to the message of the doge. We have commanded that it be thus.

(5) Also requested from us that we must give him a place to build a church for the men of Venice. We have ordered that, when the baiulus comes to Laiaçã and takes office, we will show him the place to build the church.

(6) Also requested that the boxes of the Venetians does not have to open or inspect.¹³⁴⁶ We have ordered *que conço sia cosa* that is to our profit and not to your disadvantage, I command that it must inspect courteously in a good manner without *encresemento*, that none loses his honour.

(7) Also requested from us five charters written in our crimson letters that we must address to Sisa, to Malmistra, to Adena, to Torso and to Capestran.¹³⁴⁷ We have ordered that these be written and are written and we have sent our text of the above crimson [letters] for these cities, so that he be thus privileged as at Laiaçã.

(8) Also requested from us, that when the baiulus says: “this man is Venetian and the son of a Venetian”, so be it. We have ordered that it be so. However, if a man comes that [he] *encuserà* and says that this man is not Venetian or the son of a Venetian, our court will send for the baiulus to search and make him to come to him [the baiulus] and with the baiulus he inspects this thus. If our court finds that the man is neither a Venetian nor the son of a Venetian, we will assume our right over this man and we must identify the witnesses who vouched falsely that this man is a Venetian or the son of a Venetian, so that our court will punish these false [lit.: burnt] witnesses. And if an accuser accuses wrongly, that our court will punish the accuser according to that merchant. And the witnesses to be identified, if he is the one who bears wrongful testimony.

(9) Also requested from us, when a man comes to our court to complain about a Venetian, [and] that he does not have to come to appear boorishly. We have ordered, when our court sends to search for a Venetian, that he must appear honourably at another court.

(10) Also requested from us, for estates [he] must not exact due from the Venetians. We affirmatively command that in our land and the land of my equal, both in the cities and in the

¹³⁴⁶ ‘Cercar’. Cortelazzo, *Dizionario Veneziano*, 330.

¹³⁴⁷ ‘Colidara’, one of the two stops in the Armenian kingdom to Tabriz, the other being Ayacium. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936), 28; Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 52.

estates that be under our authority, that he be privileged. In the estates that are of the barons and in the estates that are given to other knights through fief, when the estate is given to a man for his fief [or earnings], as we are able to give, [which] our equal are not able to give. And if we wish to give it we are not able to give. And it beholds an instance: Malmistra and Tarso, there indeed the due is paid in other manner, *et questo era cho que*, when my equal gives the tax exemption, Malmistra and Torso indeed is given to me, there indeed the due is paid. It beholds another example: lo Curtho that is a city,¹³⁴⁸ the same due is paid there.

(11) Also requested from us that the Venetians be privileged at Malmistra and at Torso thus as at Lajaça. We command, the whys and wherefores that we are lords and we have given privilege to them and we wish [that] Malmistra and Torso are ours, that they be thus privileged as at Laijaça.

(12) Also requested from us that the man who has [or] not demands justice regarding a Venetian must come before the baiulus to demand his justice. We thus have responded that we are pleased from this, that we from this justice that at the time of the coming of another of your messenger, we have responded that for this matter not to be obliged to send requesting any more. And also there we thus responded in this same manner, that for this matter not to send to our messenger any more, *que en neguna mainera no se poria fare né çamai no se farà*.

(13) Also requested from us that we must not demand the goods of Pasqual Manegeta and thus we examine the case of the men of Venice, we ask that you must examine our case and you must return the goods of our inhabitant, that you bear upon you[r]selves] to render.

¹³⁴⁸ My translation of ‘citate’.

6.7 Concessions to Venice, 1272

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Leo in Christ God loyal king of all Armenia, son of the God-loving and well-adored holy king of Armenia Hayton, in Christ laid from the power and the great Ropinanç, we make known all of you who are present and who will come in the future, for if it is like custom [for] well-adored kings and in Christ our loyal ancestors, to honour everyone through giving freedom to the foreigners and the private individuals,¹³⁴⁹ for which reason our royalty gave in grant, [to] the honourable and beloved commune of Venetians who are and who will be, to the request of very honourable and discreet doge lord Lourens Teupulo, through the hand of his honourable message lord Pangrat Maripere, the honourable privilege from our royalty.

(1) That they should be allowed and assured going and coming through all our land and we gave to all Venetians, anyone who will be Venetian, son of Venetians, who are and who will be, all merchants and all Venetians who are beyond the sea and on this side [of the sea] and come in our land, will be without worry and without doubt from us and from all our men and all places where they would be and where they are under our royalty from their persons and from all their possessions going and staying and returning, selling and buying without paying any due, they will be free in ports, in cities, on bridges and at exits from every place. Except all Venetians who are resident on this side of the sea, pass through Portella, that they should be held to pay due, like it is the custom of the place. But all the Venetians who bring gold and silver and wish to coin *besanç* or money, they should also pay due like that they pay at Acre due from *besanç* or money. And [those who] do not coin gold or silver [into] *besanç* or money do not have to pay any due.

¹³⁴⁹ 'Les estranges e les privés'. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 58.

(2) And if a vessel of Venetians breaks in all our land, on the shore of the sea or in the sea, all those which will be delivered from the sea, the man should be, [his] vessel or other possession, all will be without doubt and without worry from us and our subordinates. And if a man of another nation is in the vessel which breaks, they should stay at our command with their [possession]. And the Venetian vessel, neither other possession from man of another nation, nor they should take in their watch or deliver like theirs. And in other manner the vessel breaks, in which there is a Venetian, the Venetian should be free and without worry, to him all his possessions, which he proves that they are his; the vessel and the men of another nation should stay in our command with their [possession].

(3) And if any of the Venetians would like to pass through our land into land of Christians or of Saracens where we hold peace *enserement*, he can go and return, to him all his merchandise, without hindrance. And if any damage should occur to the Venetian who goes, we will endeavour and in such a manner will provide for as if to recover our possession.

(4) And if it occurs that the Venetian dies in our land and would like to make will regarding their possessions and that the Venetians are at the place and to place in the hand of the Venetians or of another that has received the will and the right. And if it occurs that he dies without will and that Venetians are at the place, the possessions of the dead stay in the hand of the very Venetians. And if a Venetian is not there and [he] dies with will or without will, all his possessions will come into our hand and under our watch until that we have letter from the doge of Venice or from the *baiulus* who is in Armenia, makes the decision from the Venetians, that the letters are from one of sealed to him: according to the manner the doge or the *baiulus* has ordered in the letters, *si sera fait de la couse dou mort*.

(5) And if there is contention between two Venetians or several in our land, the *baiulus* of Venetians, who is in Armenia makes decision. And if the contention is between Venetians and Armenians or man of another nation that are not Venetian or theft or blood [crime] or

murder is committed, the decision regarding this will be made at our royal high court. Similarly, if between the Venetians, that the two parties are Venetians, murder or blood [crime] or theft is committed, the decision regarding this will be made in our royal high court. And if the contention is between Venetians and that Venetians are not there to settle together, they should direct themselves [the contention to] the decision of archbishop of Sis.

(6) And we grant and give in Lajas the city a church and that it should have a priest to serve the church in memory of us and the dead and those houses that were given by our father, we give to them.

And to great assurance, we have here written the royal high writing from our hand and we embellished it from our golden bull, in the year of Armenia 721 and in the indiction of the Greeks, which is in the month of January. This was made at Sis the city in the year of our lord Jesus Christ 1271. And Yeffroi the scribe translates and writes it word for word as if it were written in Armenian at the command of the king.

6.8 Concessions to Genoa, 1288

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen. This is our royal high command and privilege of certitude that I Leo, lawful servant of God and through His grace king of Armenia, from whom that we give the powerful commune of Genoa according to the request of the honourable and prudent and noble *vicarius* of the commune of Genoa on this side of the sea and special and lawful friend of ours, lord Benedictus Iacharie, on behalf of the Genoese merchants, that their customs must be in such a manner: firstly [in] our cities, which are in our hands, our due will be just as in Ayacium except at those places which are named in the privilege and everything that they sell in the street on rent¹³⁵⁰ or house they should not pay anything except the rent. They should be able to sell wine in casks or on the street and specifically they should sell oil in casks or jars that it is sold without impediment, they should pay nothing out of the aforesaid except rent [of] 1 Tram 1 for a cask. Likewise regarding slaves that they bought and exported from the kingdom and paid the due thence they must not pay the due, but if they buy a slave who is Christian, that they should swear themselves not to sell to the Saracens or to any person that they believe will themselves sell to the Saracens. Likewise regarding timber out of which they will pay the due [per] barge [for] 18 *denarios* and [per] *iancono* [for] 4 *denarios* and [concerning] double for 13 *denarios* and beyond this one percent, that which they will pay one percent they should not pay but they should pay the remaining. Likewise regarding grain and barley which was carried by sea they paid from those four percent and in addition to rent, for that which was paid four percent they should not pay but only the rent. Likewise regarding animals which they exported from Armenia they paid for a horse 4 *bissancios stauratos* and for a mule 4 *bissancios*, for a

¹³⁵⁰ ‘Censarius’. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 167. Other variant spellings for this entry include ‘censuarius’, ‘censerius’, ‘censaria’ and ‘censeria’, some of which appear in this texts.

donkey 5 Tram, for cattle 3 Tram and 1 *denarium*, for mutton 4 *denarios*, for an ox hide 6 *denarios*, for a cattle hide 6 *denarios*; they must not pay such said dues; and for all hens and eggs which they buy and export they must not pay the due; and those tree trucks which they collected at the river-mouths, one mast at 2 *denarios*, specifically for the animals, for that which they buy, that they must not pay [anything] except the rent; and [for] iron when they buy [it] they must not pay except two percent. For passages of barges they must pay half a Tram per load¹³⁵¹ and [if] the effects of a Genoese are stolen and the bandit is [of] some tongue [i.e., nation] and the spoil is found that they [i.e., officials] must not demand a third from the merchants, when they came they opened their crates to them [i.e., officials] and wrote down their effects, they [i.e., officials] must not open their crates nor seal nor write their spoil. And on behalf of the Genoese merchants, who are not recognised as being Genoese or sons of the Genoese, the consul with his honourable men must view the evidence whether he is Genoese or a son of a Genoese and should send his messenger with his baton to the toll-house that they must in person free him and they must write the name of the consul and witnesses in our court; and upon exit the men retained the effects of the merchants until he [i.e the messenger] went to Tarsus to the toll-house to bring letters to the port guardian,¹³⁵² [but] they must not be retained. And if a Genoese dies without will, that our officials must not place a hand on his possessions, but the commune must accept his possessions and dispose [of them] according to their own custom. Likewise concerning the Passage that they must pay between Ayacium and *Gogulat* it should be in this manner: that they should pay concerning silk, [per] hull-load 25 Tram, [per] hull-load of silk garment 25 Tram and [for] indigo and spices, except pepper, ginger and brazilwood, they should pay [per] hull-load 25 Tram and mule-load 19 Tram and [by] donkey-load 16 Tram and concerning pepper, ginger and

¹³⁵¹ ‘Sauma’. A measure of capacity that varied from location to location. Maigne d’Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 1994.

¹³⁵² Despite the prescriptive nature of this sentence, the two main verbs are imperfect indicative, but not in subjunctive.

brazilwood [by] hull-load 20 Tram and concerning all garments which thence are produced[,] coarse and fine[,] and all *telle* which are produced thence[,] coarse and fine[,] they should pay by hull-load 20 Tram and [for] such said items [for] which they pay 20 Tram by load, they should pay by mule-load 15 Tram and by donkey-load 12 Tram; concerning cotton, sugar, quicksilver, tin, linen and all other items he should pay by hull-load 15 Tram and mule-load 12 Tram and donkey-load 9 Tram, concerning soap by hull-load 10 Tram, by mule-load 8 Tram, by donkey-load 7 Tram and pertaining to these no one should have control over them who are subject to our kingdom, neither from the powerful nor from the inferior, to contradict our royal command nor to make aggression against the commune of Genoa nor to demand tax or due, but in that manner it must remain stable just as we command. Therefore we grant our high royal command and our noble privilege and by special assurance we placed writing from our hand, just as we are accustomed to writing, *in millesimo Armeniorum DCC XXXVII, in parvo millesimo II*, in the month of December, on day 23 and it is confirmed by the will of God. It was written by the hand of the chancellor of Aytonus, servant of God and holy king who made this gift. Likewise if any Genoese who is an inhabitant of the land and takes wife and takes immoveable property with his wife, from his wife or which he has held as a gift and he himself has died intestate and without heir, all his possessions except the immoveable properties must return to the hands of the commune and the immoveable property must return to the hands of the court.

[sign of a cross] Leo King of Armenia.¹³⁵³

From Ossinus,¹³⁵⁴ know you honourably the *capitaneus* of the toll-house of Ayacium, baron Pagoranus and Bedrois, chamberlain and scribe, that the king, may God give him life, gave privilege to the honourable commune of Genoa and just as it is determined for you that

¹³⁵³ The Armenian text stops here. The following text is only found in the Latin version. Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 159.

¹³⁵⁴ 'De Ossino proximo'. Pallavicino, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/7, 77.

you must not send away anyone who has privilege, they themselves carried the privilege to me and we read it and understood and command that it is written for us, those carry the privilege to you; we command to you that you must undertake and understand and cause [it] to be written to you and the commander similarly must [have someone] write for himself and you must do just as I commanded and as is ordered in the privilege.

The Book of the King Ibn al-‘Abbās Ibn Māhir¹³⁵⁵

(S.T.) I Rollandinus de Richardo, of the sacred palace notary,¹³⁵⁶ this copy.

¹³⁵⁵ This line in Arabic does not bear any relation with the rest of the text. The existence of this line is also not mentioned in the discussion concerning the manuscripts of this text. M. Bibolini and E. Pallavicino, eds., *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. I/6 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 2000), xxiii, xxvii and xxviii. For the translation of this line, I am grateful for the assistance of Han Hsien Liew, PhD candidate in History and Middle East Studies at the Harvard University. Pers. comm. 11 September 2017.

¹³⁵⁶ ‘....., sacri palatii notarii,’ I translate it as if from ‘....., notarius sacri palatii,’, as this is the formula that is grammatically correct and also seen under the name of the same notary in other document. E.g., Pallavicino, *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/7, 74.

6.9 An excerpt regarding concessions to Genoa, 1289

“Finally to Armenia returned [Benedictus Zacharia] and, a meeting having been had with king Antonius,¹³⁵⁷ son of king Leo who had recently deceased, he obtained from him for the commune of Genoa one *fundicum*,¹³⁵⁸ which had been [property] of the wife formerly of Guilelmus Strejaporci or Salvatici and [guarantee] that men of Genoa should be able to move up into Turkey with their guards and merchandise, for a fairly small fee which they were used to paying.”

¹³⁵⁷ Het'um II (r. 1289-1293, 1294-1296, 1299-1301). Langlois, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, 162.

¹³⁵⁸ Cf. footnote 1341.

6.10 Concessions to Venice, 1307

Form of privilege of the most serene lord Leo king of Armenia.¹³⁵⁹

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Lyon in Christ the humble king of all Armenia, son of Christ-loving and *bien creabele* lord of Armenia Thoros and nephew of the second king loving and well-adored king of all Armenia Lyon, in Christ laid from the powerful and esteemed Ropinans, we make known to all of you who are present and who are to come, for it is custom of the well-adored kings and loyal in Christ our ancestors and us to honour everyone by giving freedom to those strangers and private individuals, for which reason our royalty gave in grant, [to] the honourable and beloved commune of Venetians, at the request of very honourable and discreet doge lord Piere Gradonico, by the hand of the honourable emissary lord Dolfen de Dolfen, the honourable privilege of our royalty.

(1) That they should have permission and assurance going and coming by all our land. And we gave to all Venetians who will be Venetian, son of Venetians, who are and who are to come, that all Venetian merchants and men who are overseas and on this side of the sea and will come to our land, will be without worry and without doubt from us and from all of our men, in all places where they are and where they are under our royalty, regarding their person and all their possessions, going, staying and returning, selling and buying without paying due, they will have freedom in ports and in cities, on bridges and at exits from all places. Except the Venetians who are resident on this side of the sea, if they cross Portella, that they should be held to pay due as it is the custom of the place. But all the Venetians who will carry gold and silver and would like to mint *bezans* or money, they will pay due as those who at Acre

¹³⁵⁹ For translation of this text, I follow the B version in the edition by Sopracasa. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 69-77.

pay due from *bezans* or from money. And if gold or silver does not mint *bezans* or money, they will pay no due.

(2) And if vessels of Venetians break in all our land, on the shore of the sea or in the sea, all those which will be delivered from the sea, the men or other possessions should be or vessel, all will be without doubt and without worry from us and our subordinates. And if men of another nation are in the vessel which breaks, they will be under our command. And in other manner the vessels break, in which there are Venetians, the Venetians should be free and without worry to him all his possessions, those possessions which he proves that they are his; and the vessel and the men of another nation should stay under our command with their [possession]; and the Venetian vessels should not deliver other possessions as from theirs.

(3) And if any of the Venetians would like to pass from our land into another of Christians or of Saracens where we hold peace and *saremens*, they are able to go and return, they and all their merchandise without hindrance. And if any damage should occur to these Venetians who go, we will endeavour and in such a manner will provide for as if to recover our possession.

(4) And if it occurs that a Venetian dies in our land and would like to make will regarding their possessions and that the Venetians are at the place and to place in the hand of these Venetians or of another, that has received the will and the right. And if it occurs that a Venetian dies without will and that a Venetian is at the place, the possessions of the dead will stay in the hand of that Venetian. And if there is no Venetian there and the Venetian dies with will or without will, all his possessions come into our hand and under our watch until that we have letters from the doge of Venetians or from the *baiulus* who is in Armenia of the Venetians and that the letters are from one of sealed to him: as the doge or the *baiulus* has ordered in these letters, *si sera faite de la choze deu mort*.

(5) And if there is contention between two Venetians or several in our land, the *baiulus* of Venetians who is in Armenia makes decision. And if the contention is between Venetians and Armenians or men of another nation that are not Venetian or theft or blood [crime] or murder is committed, the decision is made regarding in our royal high court. Similarly, if between the Venetians, that the two parties are Venetians, murder or blood [crime] or theft is committed, the decision regarding this will be made in our royal high court. And if the contention is between Venetians and that the Venetians are not [there] to settle together, they should direct themselves by the decision of archbishop of Sis.

(6) And the Venetians will be held if none of the Venetians comes out of their commune, immediately they will make known to us: “Such a person is part of our commune” and specify their names that we are able to know them.

(7) And if the Venetians commit any fault these men stay in our land where another stranger, the commune must amend the damage which is made, except these men who do not stay in Venice or in another place which the power of Venice is not able to engage; and that nothing from our merchandise must go with the Venetians, *et ne soit armé lein de deniers de Veneciens*. The loss that occurs, the commune will be held to pay nothing to us, for we and these will not agree. But if it occurs that the man goes back into the power of the Venetians, they must hand over the man to us, so that we are paid [for] our damage.

(8) Similarly, if any man stays in our land [and] or at other strangers, would like to lend or recommend money to Venetians, they must first make known to the *baiulus* of Venetians. If the *baiulus* says that the man is good and known and that he says: “Lend him” he will lend him and our *chevitaine* will cause writing the deed to the cartulary and they will carry a charter of the *baiulus* for this deed. But if the *baiulus* says that the man is a *treboillor* and a thief, he will not lend or recommend him over this. *Se il li done, bien li en conveigne*. Similarly, if outside Layas, through all Armenia, a man would like to lend or recommend

anything to Venetians, the *chevitaines* of the place must inform the above *chevitain* and the above *baiulus* and that these check their deed. If it is loan that it should be written in the cartulary and take the charter of the *baiulus*.

(9) And we grant and give a church in the city of Leyas [to] Venetians and that they should have a priest who serves the church in remembrance of us and our dead.. And those houses that our father gave to them, we give to them.

And *a greindir* we have written the royal high writing from our hand and we embellished it from our golden bull. In the year of Armenia 755, the fifth indiction, the month of May 25 days. And this was made at Sis the city, by the hand of Gregoire the chancellor, in the year of our lord Jesus Christ 1307. And Paumier the scribe wrote it by the command of the king.

6.11 Declaration regarding Venice, 1307

Copy or form of guarantee made by the Venetians.

We, the great lord, give agreement of our hand, from our part the lord king who has given us power and generosity to give and make agreement from the hand of our lord the king and from the part we the Venetians. That of all the quarrels which have been until this very day between us and them, that we settle our quarrels and that no more should be said [and] not withdrawing from this point of view between us, for we have received your payment. And that for guarantee of this we have made this agreement in which we have put in writing from our hand. Written on 30 days of the month of May, in the year which the Armenian court five and of the great incarnation 756 and the year of Christ 1307. And still of [those who] able to come and go without any doubt because of our guarantee according to the agreements that we have together.

6.12 Report from Armenia to Venice, [1320-1321]

These are the requests made to the most serene lord Leo, by the grace of God king of Armenia, through the noble person lord Michael Iustinianus, ambassador of the magnificent and powerful lord Iohannes Sourantius, doge of the Venetians and the replies of the aforesaid lord king of Armenia to the aforesaid requests.

(1) First, for the aforesaid ambassador requested from us the aforesaid king, that we must renew the privilege of the commune. Which privilege we at once caused to be renewed and sealed with our golden seal.

(2) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that we must cause all Venetians to be supported, both merchants and others, through their privilege. We caused a general order to be made through all our kingdom, that all Venetians should be supported in their rights according to their privilege.

(3) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that we must permit all merchants to sell gold and silver that they may have carried in our kingdom without any obstacle, just as it is countenanced in their said privilege. Our reply is, that all who may have carried gold should be able to sell the same at their pleasure, without any obstacle, but whoever may have carried silver, because of the need of tribute of the Saracens, we will that of the silver which the Venetian merchants will carry in our kingdom, all medium of silver will be carried by the merchants to our mint and they will sell another medium to anyone without any obstacle.

(4) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that we must raise that scale which is in our mint, on account that it was thought to be heavier and held up the highest pound; from which the merchants sustained the biggest loss. Our reply is, that, save the peace of those who said that that scale was unjust, it is not as they say, because that scale is in our mint since a long time ago, but it could be that the person who weighed the silver defrauded the

merchants and in order that the merchants should not be defrauded we caused that person to be removed and ordered another honest man to be put in his place.

(5) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that the Venetian merchants should be allowed to buy merchandise on credit or on time and should not pay except that which they are bound to pay by their privilege, whereas they paid as if [being] tributary¹³⁶⁰ against their privilege. Our reply is, with our admiring affection, that henceforth all Venetian merchants should be able to buy whatever merchandise on credit or on time and should not pay, unless they are held to pay by their privilege and besides if they should buy to pay at once when they have bought.

(6) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that all Venetian merchants must cross the rivers freely without any payment, whereas they first paid contrary to their privilege. Our reply is, that all Venetians should pay no due freely in transit of rivers, indeed they should be exempted, as countenanced in their privilege.

(7) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that Venetian ships appearing in the port of Ayacium, should be allowed to moor with the iron rings that are in the wall at the castle of the sea. Our reply is, that it pleased us greatly that the Venetians must moor their ships in the port of Ayacium with the said rings.

(8) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that poor Venetians who are in our kingdom should not be vexed by our officials, whereas they are frequently led to services by our officials and wrenched by their services which abound for them towards greatest loss. Our reply is, that it did not please us that any poor Venetian or anyone else was vexed in our kingdom and we ordered through all our kingdom that none from our officials should venture to vex any poor Venetian or anyone else and, if they should attempt against our order, they will be punished.

¹³⁶⁰ 'Tamquam rendabili'.

(9) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that Venetian merchants, when they bought at Sis or in other cities of our kingdom hides, leather or silk, they were compelled to pay the due, that it was against their privilege and that they must not pay such greater due. Our reply is, that the Venetian merchant must not pay any such due when buying, but should remain privileged, just as countenanced in their privilege.

(10) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that when the Venetian merchants came to Ayacium and had much merchandise to unload and were not able to unload, except in port, the cargo overflow for them to greatest loss and danger and that they must have permission to unload in Splaia, which is called Ialon in our language. Our reply is, that all Venetian merchants must hereafter unload all their merchandise in Ialon, except silver, which we wish should be unloaded in the port.

(11) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador requested from us, that all Venetian merchants should be able to go and come freely through our kingdom into Tabriz¹³⁶¹ and into Syria without any obstacle. Our reply is, that all the Venetian merchants should be allowed to go and come freely into Tabriz through our kingdom and into Syria, at a time when we hold peace with the Saracens.

(12) Likewise, the aforesaid ambassador recommended to us lord Nicolaus the archdeacon of Tarsus,¹³⁶² on behalf of the aforesaid lord doge. Our reply is, that it is satisfactory to us that the aforesaid lord archdeacon of Tarsus be recommended.

(13) Likewise, the aforesaid lord ambassador requested from us on behalf of the lord doge and the commune of Venetians a plot of land, which was near their cemetery, which one plot

¹³⁶¹ Although Sopracasa equates ‘Taurisium’ and ‘Torisium’ in this passage with Tabriz in his introduction to this text, he equates these two names with Tarsus in Cilicia in his index. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 83, 123.

¹³⁶² It is not clear whether this Nicolaus was an archdeacon for the Venetians or from other denominations, as he is not found in: G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*. Vol. 2 (Verona: Mazziana, 1976), 218-219; G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis: Series Episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium*. II *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* (Padua: Messaggero, 1988), 754-756.

of land they considered putting to the enlargement of their cemetery. Our reply is, that it greatly pleased us that they should hold that plot of land and we ordered that it should be given to them.

For the testimony of all we caused the present parchment¹³⁶³ of our small seal with which in our kingdom we use to be safeguarded with stamping.

¹³⁶³ ‘Rotulus’. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 923.

6.13 Concessions to Venice, 1321

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Amen. Amen. God. We Lion loyal to Jesus Christ, by the grace and mercy of God king of all the Armenians, son of the devout and faithful in Christ king Ossim, son of the good memory king Lion, high and powerful of the Ropignans, make known to all those who are and who are to come, that it is custom of the well-adored kings loyal in Christ our ancestors and us to honour each foreigner and private individual by giving freedom, we recognise the honourable privilege that the benevolent armour of our father the king Ossim ordered and gave to the honourable and powerful commune of Venice, granted and confirmed that same privilege to the aforesaid powerful commune, at the request of the noble and powerful doge of the Venetians lord Iohan Sourans, by the hand of the noble and wise lord Michel Justinian, who was mandated to inform us of the said lord the doge and of the commune of Venice and we gave them the honourable privilege of our royalty, that they have permission and assurance to go and come through all our land.

(1) And we gave all Venetians who are and who will be Venetian, sons of Venetians, that all the merchants and Venetian men who are overseas and will come to our land, will be without worry and without doubt from us and from all of our men, in all places where they are and where they are under our royalty regarding their person and all their possessions, going, coming, staying and returning, selling and buying without paying due, they will have freedom in ports and in cities, on bridges and at exits and in all places. Except the Venetians who are resident on this side of the sea, if they cross Portella, that they should be held to pay due as it is the custom of the place. But all the Venetians who will carry gold and silver and would like to mint *besans* or money they will pay due, as those who at Acre pay due from *besans* or from money. And if gold or silver does not mint *besans* or money, they will pay no due.

(2) And if vessels of Venetians break in all our land, on the shore of the sea or in the sea, all those which will be delivered from the sea, the men or the vessels should be or other possessions, all will be without doubt and without worry from us and our subordinates. And the men of another nation will stay under our command with their [possession]. And in other manner the vessels break, in which there are Venetians, the Venetians should be free and without worry, to him all his possessions, those possessions which he proves that they are his. And the vessel and the men of another nation should stay in our command with their [possession]. And the Venetian vessels should not deliver other possessions as from theirs.

(3) And if any of the Venetians would like to pass from our land into land of Christians or of Saracens where we hold peace and oath they are able to go and return, they and all their merchandise without hindrance. And if any damage should occur to these Venetians who go, we will endeavour and in such a manner will provide for as if to recover our possession.

(4) And if it occurs that Venetians die in our land and would like to make will regarding their possessions and that the Venetians are at the place and to place in the hand of these Venetians or of others that has received the will and the right. And if it occurs that a Venetian dies in our land and would like his possessions and he dies without will and that Venetians are at the place, the possessions of the dead stay in the hand of these Venetians. And if Venetians are not there and [he] dies with will or without will, all his possessions come into our hands and under our watch until we have letters from the doge of the Venetians or from the *baiulus* who is in Armenia and that the letters are from one of sealed: as the doge or the *baiulus* has ordered, *si sera fait de la couse dou mort*.

(5) And if there is contention between two Venetians or several in our land, the *baiulus* of Venetians who is in Armenia makes decision. And if the contention is between Venetians and Armenians or man of another nation that are not Venetian or theft or blood [crime] or murder is committed, our royal high court makes the decision. Similarly, if between the Venetians,

that the two parties are Venetians, murder or blood [crime] is committed, the decision regarding this will be made in our royal high court. And if the contention is between Venetians and that the Venetians are not there to settle together, they should direct themselves by the decision of archbishop of Sis.

(6) And the Venetians will be held if none of the Venetians comes out of their commune, immediately they will make known to us: “Such a person is part of our commune” and specify their names, that we are able to know them.

(7) And if the Venetians commit any fault these men stay in our land where another stranger, the commune must amend the damage which is made, except these men who do not stay in Venice or in other place which the power of Venice is not able to engage; and that nothing from his merchandise must go with the Venetians, *e ne soit son leign arme des deniers de Venesiens*. The loss that occurs, the commune will be held to pay nothing to us, for we and these will agree. But if it occurs that the man goes back into the power of the Venetians, they must hand over the man to us, so that we are paid [for] our damage.

(8) Similarly, if any man stays in our land [and] would like to lend anything or recommend these Venetians money, they must first make known to the *baiulus* of Venetians: if the *baiulus* says that the man is good and known and that he says: “Lend him” or “recommended” he will lend or recommend him. And our *covetaine* will cause to write the deed in the cartulary and they will take the charter of *baiulus* for this deed. But if the *baiulus* says that the man is a *trebolior* and a thief, he will not lend over this; *se il li prestant bien leur encoveigne*. Similarly if outside Layas, through all Armenia, they would like to lend anyone anything or recommend these Venetians, the *cheveitanes* of the place must inform the above *chevetaines* of Layas and the above *baiulus* and that these check their deed if it is loan or recommended and that it is written in the cartulary and take the charter of the *baiulus*.

(9) And we grant and give a church in the city of Layas [to] these Venetians and that they should have a priest in remembrance of us and our dead to serve the said church. And those houses that our brother gave to them, we give to them.

And to great assurance of the aforesaid matters we have written the royal high writing from our hand and we embellished it from our golden bull. In the year of Armenia 770, in the fourth indiction, on 19 days of March. This was made at the city of Sis, by the hand of reverend father in Christ lord Costantin, by the grace of God archbishop of Trasart, on that day chancellor of the kingdom of Armenia. In the year of our lord Jesus Christ 1321, indiction 4. And the notary Nicole de Rais wrote it by the command of the king.

6.14 Instructions from Venice regarding Armenia, 1333

The seventeenth day of June.¹³⁶⁴

(1) Decided.¹³⁶⁵ That the parties should be able to be placed for the activity of the Armenian emissary, in order that he will be seen by the lord, the councillors and heads of the forty, not hindering what is not specified [and] from which the money of the emissary must be accepted if it is seized.

(2) Decided. When it concerns our honour, endeavour to ensure¹³⁶⁶ that our loyal subjects should be preoccupied with their own merchandise and their possessions wherever favourable and just as it is the habit for a long time and by our emissary and by our merchants coming from Armenia and by letters of our baiulus thenceforth concerning still [that] privilege, which we have from the king of Armenia, is not protected for us, [and] even in fact, besides their disregard, our loyal subjects in the kingdom of Armenia are vexed in various ways, it is not considered by the wise that in the said deed [i.e., the privilege] for our observance should pass under silence, because, with cautious grave letters sent by us to the said king, in which we have always written fervently concerning the provision in the said deed, when no remedy was pledged for us regarding the aforesaid [deed], nothing else should be said, unless it should intensify against us by the unremitting vexations by the powerful.

(3) And therefore they consult, what should be entrusted to one of our merchants going to overwinter¹³⁶⁷ in Armenia, for what [business] he will be seen by the lord, councillors and

¹³⁶⁴ This text contains five resolutions: §§ 1, 2-16, 17-19, 20 and 21-22. The numbers after §19 and §22 are the voting records: in favour, abstaining and against. Sopraca, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 102.

¹³⁶⁵ This is my translation of 'Capta'. Maigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 419.

¹³⁶⁶ This is my translation of '..... sollicite procurare.....' Sopraca, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 102 §2.

¹³⁶⁷ 'Pro invernando'. Maigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 1221.

heads, that he should go to our emissary to the said king and, having related to him [i.e., the emissary] with common [i.e., agreed] words about the oppressions which happen to us and how the privilege is not maintained for us, he should attend to obtaining from him [i.e., the king] that he should command and order through all the kingdom with effect that the very privilege, which we have from him, should be observed inviolate for us, neither should the same emissary resort to any [personal] friendship, nor make any mention of [any] type of some oppressions which happen to us against the agreement of the said privilege.

(4) Certainly the stipulations¹³⁶⁸ should be given to the said emissary which lord Iacobus Trivixanus carried with himself from Armenia, concerning which he presented¹³⁶⁹ to the said king; and a copy of the letters, which our baiulus sent, should be given to him, which contain oppressions that were committed towards us, after the departure of said lord Iacobus: and after he arrives in Armenia, he should confer with the said baiulus and understand from him if other oppressions happen to us there, beside those which one encounters in the aforesaid letters.

(5) And it should be entrusted to the said emissary, that if the said king should wish to feign ignorance and says that he does not know in what [way] the privilege is not observed, he should explain to him the said subjects and oppressions contained in the said letters of our baiulus and others concerning which he has experiences there and he should attend to obtaining observance generally of the privilege, as was said.

(6) And the said emissary should ensure, with his power, that the price of silver should be increased much more,¹³⁷⁰ explaining to the said lord king how customary silver is found very

¹³⁶⁸ This is my translation of ‘capitulum’ throughout this text, which means: a paragraph, a particular subject, provision or stipulation. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 136-137.

¹³⁶⁹ “....., de quibus fecit ambaxiatam dicto regi;” Because ‘ambaxiata’ is ‘message transmitted by an embassy’, I translated ‘ambaxiatam facere’ as ‘to present’. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 103 §4; Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 39.

¹³⁷⁰ “....., quod precium argenti quam plus poterit augeatur,” ‘Poterit’ seems unnecessary both in syntax and in meaning for the sentence. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 103 §6.

costly and in small quantity in these parts, because of which our merchants conducting themselves to the same parts are unable themselves to pay the customary price, without big impropriety and oppression of their own, which the aforesaid lord king must not wish; on the contrary, having considered the devotion which we have towards him and his kingdom, he must afford them every good administration of justice,¹³⁷¹ on account of which they should be able to frequent his kingdom to their advantage.

(7) It should even be entrusted to the said emissary, that he should attend to obtaining, with his power, that the gold ducats should be accepted there for twenty-three *taculinums* for anything, in order, if debasing occurs, that concerning silver, because of its very own paucity, our merchants are unable to furnish themselves, at least they should be able to come to those parts with gold and in the kingdom to trade and to live in the customary manner. And when our same emissary is unable to secure any of the aforesaid stipulations, both of silver and of gold, yet without hindering them, he should attend to securing that the observance of the privilege should be ordered and observed in effect, as was said.

(8) If, however, the same king declines to make order concerning the observance of privilege with the freedoms and exemptions contained in it, alleging the situation of his kingdom, while his emissary, who was here, pleaded others [i.e., other conditions] and asks that our men pay that one percent, which it is customary to pay without it hindering the aforesaid privilege, it should be entrusted to the said emissary that he should explain to the said king that [as] our loyal subjects made payment of the said one percent thus far concerning their own freedom, [it is] to be displayed¹³⁷² in the said deed according to the pleasure of the said king; and that if our loyal subjects were privileged themselves thus far in the deed of the said payment, he must yet believe, that because of the affection which they hold towards him they

¹³⁷¹ This is my translation of 'bona causa'. Because this instruction for the emissary highlights the injustices encountered by the Venetian merchants in the Armenian kingdom, I chose this meaning for 'causa'. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 104 §6; Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 159.

¹³⁷² 'Transire'. Maigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 2215.

will conduct themselves in such a way in the said action in the following condition, that he can clearly recognise such a degree [of] increase of his kingdom they esteem. And the said emissary should give himself every ample expectation that our [men] [should be] freedom [i.e., should be free] out of habit, so that he [i.e., the king] [may] believe that they will be content concerning all of that which he [i.e., the king] that he may consider [is] for the advantage of his kingdom, just as they were from the retracted conditions; he has yet to permit any mention to be made regarding this through writing.

(9) And if the said king says that he wishes that our loyal subjects should pay some due concerning merchandise and properties, which they buy from the estates, it should be entrusted to the said emissary that he should ensure, with complete power, that our loyal subjects should be completely exempted from the said payment; if thenceforth he is not able to obtain this, he should be finally content that they should be freely exempted from the said payment in all the estates [or settlements] pertaining to¹³⁷³ the said king, just as his emissary, who was here, offered. And the same emissary should relate that of other estates [or settlements] pertaining to the royal nobles, knights and fiefs and to others, our men will conduct themselves in such a manner out of their freedom, that the same king will be able to be content out of merit; he has yet to permit any mention to be made regarding this through writing.

(10) If, moreover, the said king says that he wishes to make attacked offices of our loyal subjects, because of defrauding which they commit by not giving silver, so that they are kept, the aforesaid emissary should, with his power, ensure that the same king should desist from the said request. But if, however, he is unable to obtain this, he should be eventually content that our merchants must swear an oath to our baiulus, some royal official being present, if the

¹³⁷³ “....., finaliter sit contentus quod in omnibus casalibus spectantibus dicto regi a dicta solutione liberaliter sint exempti,” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 105 §9. ‘Spectare’ for ‘exspectare’. Maigne d’Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 867, 2087. ‘Exspectare’ can mean ‘to consider as a taxable subject’. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 400.

king has wished, that they will give it properly, that they must and that they will not defraud royal rule in the case of silver, that it must be given to the royal mint: the aforesaid king must be content regarding that oath, with all other inquiry, investigation and trial removed.

(11) And if the said king adds some difference in any of the other stipulations which lord Iacobus Trivisano has conveyed, beside those that are very different or in deed of serious business of which our baiulus wrote to us through his letters, whose copy the said emissary will bring with himself, just as was said or in deed about other serious business, which happens anew to us, regarding which he should have made notice to the said king, it should be entrusted to our said emissary that in deed about the said differences that he should make [it] just as he should have seen fit on behalf of our honour and the benefit of the merchants themselves: besides, containing in the stipulation, that our men going with merchandise and their properties through the land of the kingdom according to exemption and freedom contained in our privilege; and besides, on the subject of serious business concerning which our baiulus wrote to us, how the king seems to wish to not commit for those Venetians from Crete, *Corone*, Negroponte and from our other places, to be discussed, nor for some other Venetians, besides [these] born in Venice, on which two subjects the same emissary should in no way depart from our privilege.

(12) Likewise, the said emissary should ensure that Christoforo Nayço, with our loyal subject or his agent, should be made complete from the loss brought against him in timber, being received himself according to the royal mandate or by his officials, which payment the emissary of the said king who was here freely offered; nevertheless if the said king opposes anything in deed regarding the said Christoforo, in case he hinders or slows the satisfaction of the same man, the said deed should remain for the arbitration of the said emissaries, just as was said above with the other stipulations.

(13) And all things, when he is able to obtain them, the aforesaid emissary should endeavour to attend to: if he is able to obtain them, he should cause the order of the king to be made concerning the observance of the privilege, just as was said. But if, however, he cannot obtain them, he should explain to the said king that it is not of our intention that our loyal subjects in his kingdom endure further such serious business and disgrace, but we consider to recall these very men, just as it is fitting for our honour. And it should be entrusted to the said emissary that, not succeeding in obtaining from him the said king anything that has been said, he should order or through public proclamation or in any other way seen by them [to be] just, that all Venetians and [those] who are prosecuted on behalf of Venetians must withdraw from the kingdom of Armenia through all the month of April then immediately following, with all their properties, under the penalty of five hundred pounds for a person for whichever merchant and of fifty pounds for whichever other who is not a merchant, who do not withdraw from the said kingdom by the very deadline and under the penalty of fifty pounds for one hundred of the value of the merchandise, which are not removed from the very kingdom by the aforesaid deadline. However, if there are some Venetians or [those] who are prosecuted for the Venetians, [who] had been and are continuing inhabitants in the said kingdom within three years or for a time longer that and wish not to withdraw from the kingdom, they should be able to remain with their property notwithstanding the aforesaid.

(14) And from then it should be emphasised that if the said emissary is not in agreement with the said king, that from the said deadline of the month of April previously some merchants or properties that show up, are produced or are made in the kingdom of Armenia, they should not be able to be collected [or hired] by any Venetian person, nor [brought] to any our lands or places, under the penalty of fifty pounds for one hundred of the value of the merchandise, which are collected [or hired] against the aforesaid. And that no Venetian or loyal subject of

the lord doge and [loyal subject] of common Venetians¹³⁷⁴ should be able to go from here or there, to send or carry, from the said time of month of April, anything by exchange or in any other way, in Armenia, under the aforesaid penalty upon merchandise and persons.

(15) And in order that the aforesaid can be known and observed in effect, it should be ordered that it should be made known to all ships which will leave from Venice from the next month of December prior to the occasion of being sailed to those parts, that before they land in Armenia they should present themselves in Cyprus and know if we are in agreement regarding the aforesaid. And if we are not in agreement they should not proceed farther, but should be obliged by the aforesaid penalties and orders. However, if the said ships do not stop in Cyprus, but go to Armenia, if after they are in Armenia they realise that we are not in agreement with the said king, they withdraw from Armenia, they are not able to take any merchandise from there and are not able to live there from merchandise either and cannot be made to live under the aforesaid penalties.

(16) And it should be written similarly to all our governors that they must observe thus in their parts. And it should be entrusted to the said emissary that he should write immediately to our baiulus of Cyprus anything he should have accomplished, whether concerning agreement or concerning disagreement, with the said king. And all the aforesaid things to be inquired and examined should be entrusted to the superintendants of the commune who should exact, from those in violation, the said penalties from which they should hold a quarter: and if the accuser by whose accusation the truth is upheld is from there, he should have a quarter and be held in recognition and the remainder should be for the commune. And if any of our governors discovers anyone in violation, he should exact the said penalties, from which they should hold a portion, just as was said above concerning the superintendants.

¹³⁷⁴ “..... Et quod nullus Venetus vel fidelis domini ducis et comunis Veneciarum.....” Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 107 §14.

(17) Decided. Likewise, one illustrious emissary should therefore be despatched, who should be on the salary and terms on which lord Iacobus Trivixanus was.

(18) That the aforesaid should be entrusted, up to where the ‘and all things’¹³⁷⁵ is, to anyone of our merchants about to sail for overwintering in Armenia, who should go on behalf of our emissary and should endeavour and attend to the aforesaid and if he is able to obtain it, he should cause an order of the king concerning observance of the privilege to be made, as was said; but if, however, he is unable to obtain it, he should write back to us what he has done. And during the fifteen days after new [privileges] are considered settled from him which the aforesaid emissary has made, that council must be convened, at which the said deed should be deposited; and then it will happen just as it will be seen [as] to the advantage of our business and to our honour. However, the same emissary should be freed either to return or remain for his activities there, just as he wishes.

(19) That all the aforesaid should be entrusted, in order that it should be countenanced in part, by lord Petrus Bragadinus to someone from our merchants about to go for overwintering in Armenia.

25-9-10

(20) Decided. That it should be entrusted to the sea salt officials that they should furnish the said mission of Armenia in that manner which they furnished and provided for the mission of lord Iacobus Trivixano; which *denarii* should be restored to the said vault in this manner that *denarii* paid to the mission of lord Iacobus Trivixiano: those 5 *solidi* for one hundred, which today are paid for the said action, should be continuously produced, until the money which will be paid in this way for such an action should have been paid.

¹³⁷⁵ That is, §13 in the same text. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 106 §13.

(21) Decided. That the said emissary should go with the nearest ships to sail to Armenia.

(22) That the said emissary should go with galleys of Armenia.

38-3-De non 3.

6.15 Concessions to Venice, 1333

Another privilege of the illustrious king of Armenia.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Leo, by the grace and assistance of God king of all Armenians, son of the king of Armenians Ossinus resting in peace in Christ, powerful and sublime of the Rubinus [family], because of the requests and prayers of the great and glorious doge, lord Franciscus Dandulo together with the community of the Venetians, we permit, with mediation of the honourable and faithful ambassador of theirs whom they had sent to our royal majesty, namely lord Iacobus Trivisano, to all the Venetians, who were Venetians and sons of Venetians, regarding that freedom and privilege we had granted to them through our signature and golden bull; we permit similarly and confirm new favours to them, which they requested from our royal majesty.

(1) First, that all Venetians, who were Venetians and the sons of Venetians, should be able to come, remain, go back into our God-protected land, with their equipments, without any trouble or injury.

(2) Second, that those Venetians and the sons of Venetians from lands of Venetians, namely from Venice, Crete, Negroponte, *Cothrono* [Corone] and *Mothono* or from other lands which are theirs, all such of the above-mentioned should be free according to the arrangement of their privileges.

(3) Third, that those Venetians, who are weavers of camel hair cloth¹³⁷⁶ and inhabitants in our lands, we gave them freedom through our privileges, that they and

¹³⁷⁶ For 'zambelotus' in the index, Sopracasa explains that it is 'panno in pelo di cammello'. I thus translated 'textiores pannorum de zambolotis' as 'weaver of camel hair cloth'. Sopracasa, *I Trattati con il Regno Armeno di Cilicia*, 123.

sons of their children will be of royal rights for their crafts, which they practise and no one should cause injustice to them.

(4) Fourth, that those Venetians, who have a tavern to sell wine in our lands, [for] that tax which our officials take in from them, it is one *taculinum* a week, they should not pay more; but if they have not sold their wine according to the assessed measure or should have created for themselves a measure either more or less, our officials should be able to find them guilty according to the amount; but they should inflict no more injustice or trouble.

(5) Fifth, that when Venetians bought or sold unfermented wine or wine in city, one new Tram tax was taken for whichever wine cask and two new Trams when they carried them outside the city, [and] they should not pay more than the said tax, because we have exempted them.

(6) Sixth, that those taxes, which they paid in the city of Tarsus for whatever kind of salt upon entrance and exit and even in *Peliparia* in buying and selling hides, similarly in the port of Tarsus, entering and leaving with their ships, they should not pay more, because we have exempted them.

(7) Seventh, that all Venetians, who are Venetian or sons of Venetians, should be able to buy woolfell of camels and carry it outside our land or whatever merchandise, according to that which we have granted in our other privilege.

(8) Eighth, that that tax, which they gave for a bale of cloth in measured cloth, they should not pay more, because we have exempted them.

(9) Ninth, that the Venetians should not be compelled by our officials to acquire grain or salt or anything, neither should they violently make them do [it].

(10) Tenth, that if anyone has plundered properties of Venetians and the thief is discovered, he should be seized by our court and incarcerated; the stolen properties

should be returned to their owner, but the thief will remain under the command and punishment of our court. And if anyone from our people or from [our] subordinates has been debtor to some Venetian and will be incarcerated on account of the debt, he should not be removed from prison until he pays the debt or gives a guarantor, that he should leave [the prison], should pay back. The aforesaid Venetians will truly be loved and honoured and accepted people[,] and their possessions[,] by our royal majesty and by our officials and hereafter that for the present no one has the power from our royal majesty [and our] subordinates, from the powerful or the inferiors to oppose or resist our commands; but in such a way they [i.e., the commands] should remain firm and certain together in all respects, just as we have ordered above, without opposition and resistance from whomever.

And for the confirmation of every one of the aforesaid we placed our signature upon the favourable privilege and sealed [it] with the golden bull of our royal majesty. [It is] given in the year of Lord's incarnation 1333 and previous reckoning, namely of the Armenians, 782, in the month of November, the tenth day, under the chancellorship of honourable man lord Iohannes.

Leo, king of all Armenians.